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CHERVOV ANSWERS QUESTIONS ON BOOK ON SDI

LD051626 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1115 GMT 5 Nov 86

[From review of KOMMUNIST, No. 16]

[Text] Colonel General Nikolay Fyodorovich Chervov is Chief of Directorate at the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and candidate of military sciences. KOMMUNIST prints his review of a book by a group of Soviet scientists entitled "Space Weapons: the Security Dilemma" [KOSMICHESKIYE VOORUZHENIYA: DILEMMA BEZOPASNOSTI].

[Begin recording] [unidentified interviewer] Nikolay Fyodorovich, why was it that as a military man you decided to review a book by scientists?

[Chervov] The grounds for this decision lie in the fact that in the book the Soviet scientists examined a highly topical problem connected with the U.S. plans to create space weapons. For 3 and 1/2 years now the U.S. Star Wars program has had the whole world in a fever. The U.S. Administration is trying to convince the world public that the SDI program is one of defense aimed at destroying ballistic missiles.

In actual fact that is not the case. SDI is a military program aimed at creating a large scale antimissile defense system with space-based elements and at developing new types of weaponry and deploying it in space. The space weaponry which is being created in the Star Wars program has the characteristics of offensive weaponry.

First, it can be used for the sudden destruction of the most important space installations of another country -- early warning satellites, communications satellites and others -- in order to blind that other country, catch it unawares and thus subvert it or completely deprive it of the opportunity to take actions in response to a nuclear attack.

Second, space weapons such as lasers, electromagnetic beams and self-guided missiles have a long range, up to 4,000 or 5,000 km. Can one really consider weapons with a range of 4,000 or 5,000 km to be defensive? Of course not. This is multipurpose weaponry. It is capable of destroying installations in space and from space it can destroy installations on earth. Scientists confirm that an industrially developed country can be flung back into the Middle Ages in just a few dozen minutes as a result of a strike from space.

The statements from Washington's representatives to the effect that SDI is for defense purposes amount to deception of the public. What is at issue is the acquisition of the capacity to deliver a first strike and thus to achieve decisive military superiority over the Soviet Union and other countries in order subsequently to blackmail them and impose its will on them.

For my part, naturally it was interesting to see how Soviet scientists view the problem of space weaponry. The book's authors confirmed with factual material the idea that in its aggressive military policy the United States has now gambled on space and has embarked on a major venture. Using space weaponry it is trying to make the United States invulnerable in a nuclear conflict it unleashes and thus to save itself from the horrors of nuclear war and place other countries under threat. What Washington strategists are dreaming of is the illusory hope of victory in a nuclear war and of establishing world domination.

This idea indeed is confirmed by the Soviet scientists in the book I have reviewed.

[Interviewer] Nikolay Fyodorovich, tell me please which legal aspects of the conformity of SDI to international law are discussed by the authors of this book?

[Chervov] The book puts forward arguments showing that Star Wars plans are incompatible with international law. The SDI program is in very crude contradiction of the ABM restriction treaty, firstly because it is leading up to the creation of an antimissile system for defending the whole of the country's territory and furthermore, as is stated by the U.S. Administration, even of allies of the United States, something that is banned by an article of the first ABM Treaty; second, because we are talking about a space based antimissile system that is banned by Article Five of this treaty. Therefore the implementation of SDI will lead to the elimination of the ABM treaty.

Furthermore, the SDI program proposed the use of small and medium strength nuclear explosions in space for pumping X-ray lasers. And that will lead to the undermining of other multiaspected agreements, in particular the 1963 treaty banning tests of nuclear tests in three environments, including space and also the 1967 treaty on principles for state research into the use of space. These treaties ban the launch into earth orbit of any installations carrying nuclear weapons. The 1977 convention banning military or any other hostile use of means of influencing the natural environment will be violated.

Finally, the 1968 treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons will be violated.

Thus the U.S. Star Wars threatens the entire international legal system in the areas of disarmament and security. This is dealt with in quite a lot of detail in the reviewed book by Soviet scientists. [end recording]

STRATEGIC WEAPONS GROUP HOLDS TALKS WITH U.S.

LD061216 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 5 Nov 86

[Text] Geneva November 5 TASS -- The group on strategic armaments held a session here today within the framework of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments.

DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS WITH U.S. ON NUCLEAR ARMS

LD061227 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Geneva November 6 TASS -- The group on medium-range nuclear armaments met in session here today within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms.

CONTINUED REPORTAGE OF CEMA SESSION IN BUCHAREST

Ryzhkov Meets Delegation Heads

LD051638 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1305 GMT 5 Nov 86

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In Bucharest Comrade Ryzhkov has met Keshtmand, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Aghanistan and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Afghanistan, who is taking part in the 42nd session of CEMA as an observer. A friendly conversation took place between Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and the head of the Vietnamese delegation at the CEMA session, Vo Chi Cong, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic. Comrade Ryzhkov received Henry Ruiz, member of the Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and minister of foreign cooperation of Nicaragua. Comrade Ryzhkov met with the head of the Yugoslav delegation at the 42nd session of the CEMA, Zemljaric, deputy president of the Federal Executive Council of the Republic.

Taking part in the conversations were Comrades Zaykov, Talyzin, and Anotonov, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR permanent representative at the CEMA.

Session Concludes

PM061600 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CEMA Session Ends"]

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Nov -- The CEMA countries, under the leadership of the communist and workers parties, will continue to follow the path of steady scocioeconomic development, seeking to improve mutual cooperation and deepen socialist economic integration. This was reaffirmed by the council's 42d session, which ended in the Romanian capital today.

The session summed up the results of work over the time which has elapsed since the Moscow economic summit conference. The participants noted that the fraternal countries have taken a major step forward in resolving economic and social tasks and strengthening their positions in the world arena.

The delegations' representatives who spoke at the session not only noted the positive results, but also spoke of shortcomings and shortfalls. They concluded that the community countries have entered a fundamentally new stage of cooperation and development, so that in the near future it is necessary to ensure that the national economy is transferred decisively onto a footing of intensification and that there is an acceleration of the rate of economic development, an improvement in production relations, and an increase in the production of output which is up to the best world standards.

During the examination of the results of the coordination of national economic plans for the current 5-year period it was noted that this work has helped t mobilize the countries' potential and increase the efficiency of their economies. Bilateral long-term programs for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation through the year 2000 have been drawn up.

It was stressed at the session that one of the most important tasks of cooperation at the present stage is the wide development of such progressive forms of cooperation as direct links and the creation of joint enterprises, associations, and organizations on a basis of financial autonomy.

The signing of bilateral agreements between the economic organizations of the USSR and Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, and the CSSR which took place during the session, at the level of heads of government, was a major practical step in this direction.

It was noted at the session that the implementation of a number of large-scale, multilateral agreements in priority areas, which has now begun, is helping to accelerate the fraternal countries' economic growth. This includes cooperation in the construction of the gas pipeline from Yamburg to the USSR's western border, the utilization of natural gas as motor fuel, international specialization and production sharing in the manufacture of flexible production systems, the creation of an integrated fiber-optic information transfer system and automated design systems, the establishment of a new international science and production association, "Interrobot," and so forth.

The session approved a program for the construction of nuclear power stations and nuclear heat supply stations through the year 2000.

The European CEMA countries outlined measures for further improving cooperation with the SRV, Cuba, and Mongolia, with a view to developing the basic sectors of those countries' national economies.

The session participants noted that the development of the CEMA countries is taking place in a tense, acute international situation; they declared their full support for the USSR's constructive stance at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik and gave a high assessment of the large-scale, far-reaching Soviet proposals, which are aimed at ensuring a breakthrough in all avenues of the struggle for disarmament and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war.

On the basis of the session's results, a protocol was signed and a communique was adopted, which is being published in the press.

It was decided to hold the next CEMA session in Moscow in 1987.

Romanian Prime Minister C. Dascalescu, chairman of the session, who delivered a concluding speech, noted that the CEMA session took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust, expressed satisfaction with its results, and thanked all the participants.

A reply speech was delivered by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He said:

We are completing the work of the 42d CEMA session. In the course of our exchange of opinions, topical questions of cooperation among the socialist countries were examined, questions which are of great significance for their further socioeconomic development and mutual cooperation.

We worked in a good, comradely atmosphere, spoke frankly, assessed our work critically, and sought to focus attention on the shortcomings and difficulties we are encountering, in order to eliminate them. And the decisions adopted by the session should therefore play a positive role in the cause of deepening socialist integration and expanding cooperation.

Aware of the special significance of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, we discussed in detail questions connected with the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries. This program, drawn up on the initiative of the fraternal parties' Central Committees, laid the foundations for pooling our efforts in the most important areas of scientific and technical progress. Its implementation has an essential bearing on the intensification of our countries' national economies and the widening and deepening of mutual cooperation.

On the basis of coordinated actions we will consistently and persistently put our plans into practice. Our approach will be creative and assertive, so that our joint efforts are fruitful and yield real results.

Permit me, on behalf of all the delegations, sincerely to thank the RCP Central Committee and the republic's State Council and government for the attention devoted to our session and for creating good conditions for it to be held.

I would like to express our common gratitude to Romanian Prime Minister Comrade Dascalescu for successfully organizing its work in his capacity as chairman.

On behalf of all the participants in the session, I convey to the RCP Central Committee, the republic's government, and the industrious Romanian people wishes for great successes in building their socialist motherland.

As you know, the next regular CEMA session will be held in Moscow. Permit me, on behalf of the government of the Soviet Union, to invite you to that session.

On this, the 42d CEMA Session ended.

The Romanian Government held a reception to mark the end of the 42d CEMA Session, which was attended by the CEMA countries' delegations, including the Soviet delegation headed by N.I. Ryzhkov.

The reception took place in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

On the same day N.I. Ryzhkov, C. Dascalescu, L.N. Zaykov, and the members of the Soviet delegation which took part in the 42d CEMA Session visited the Romanian exhibition at the Bucharest International Fair, where they inspected working exhibits of industrial goods and consumer goods.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers visited newly constructed projects in Bucharest.

At the heavy machine building plant N.I. Ryzhkov was shown output from the enterprise, which produces power industry equipment, particularly for nuclear power stations, and specialized types of steel. The plant's director, D. Constantin, spoke of the plant's many years of fruitful cooperation with Soviet enterprises. There were conversations with Romanian workers and engineers.

PRAVDA Carries Communique

PM061331 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 86 First Edition p 4

["Communique on the 42d Sitting of the CEMA Session" -- PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The scheduled 42d CEMA Session Sitting was held in Bucharest, capital of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 3-5 November 1986.

The sitting was attended by delegations from CEMA countries headed by G. Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic Council of Ministers; G. Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers; V. Chi Cong, vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; W. Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; C.R. Rodriguez, vice president of the Republic of Cuba Council of State and Council of Ministers; D. Sodnom, chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic Council of Ministers; Z. Messner, chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers; C. Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania Government; N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; L. Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Government; CEMA Secretary V.V. Sychev; and representatives of the CEMA organs.

In accordance with the agreement between CEMA and the SFRY Government, an SFRY delegation headed by J. Zemljaric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, took part in the session's work.

Representatives of the People's Republic of Angola, the DRA, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Republic of Nicaragua, and Socialist Ethiopia attended the session sitting by invitation as observers.

The session was chaired by C. Dascalescu, head of the Socialist Republic of Romania delegation.

The session examined an Executive Committee report on CEMA's activity between the 40th and 42d CEMA Session Sittings in implementing the decisions of the CEMA economic summit.

It was noted that the implementation of the CEMA economic summit decisions and the subsequent accords among the CEMA countries, the organizational and guiding activity of the communist and workers parties, the selfless labor of these countries' peoples, the mobilization of existing reserves, and the utilization of opportunities for mutual cooperation among CEMA countries have had a great effect on the growth of their economic potential and the strengthening of their unity and cohesion. CEMA countries scored significant successes during the last 5-year plan period.

The national income produced by the countries in 1981-85 increased by 18 percent, with gross output increasing by 18 percent in industry and by 11 percent in agriculture. There was significant growth in their reciprocal commodity turnover, which reached 198 billion transfer rubles in 1985. The population's real incomes increased, housing construction expanded, and medical services and social security improved.

In comparison with 1984, national income produced in the CEMA countries as a whole in 1985 increased by 3.6 percent, industrial production output increased by 3.9 percent, and the total volume of their foreign trade increased by 3.2 percent.

Increased labor productivity was the decisive factor in production growth, accounting for more than 80 percent of the entire increase in industrial output.

The congresses of fraternal CEMA countries' communist and workers parties, held in 1984-86, stressed the importance of deepening economic cooperation and applying new ways of intensifying social production on the basis of scientific and technical progress in order to ensure high economic efficiency and enhance the peoples' prosperity.

Large-scale international science and production cooperation is being implemented on the basis of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. This program, expanded into a system of interconnected agreements and contracts, has provided the basis of scientific and technical production sharing within the CEMA framework, has become one of the leading organizational principles for the further deepening and improvement of cooperation and for the development of socialist economic integration, and it promotes the broad development of specialization and production sharing in the areas of science, technology, and production and faster growth of foreign trade.

The session noted the need for accelerated solution of these tasks.

In the course of examining the results of national economic plan coordination for the current 5-year plan period, it was noted that this coordination has helped to mobilize the countries' potential and to step up their mutual cooperation for the purpose of achieving dynamic and balanced growth in the economy of each country and of all CEMA countries as a whole. The implementation of accords on developing cooperation reached in the course of coordinating plans helps to enhance the efficiency of CEMA countries' economies.

Paramount attention in the coordination of plans was given to the implementation of the economic summit decisions and to the shaping of stable long-term economic, scientific, and technical relations among CEMA countries. The countries have either signed or prepared bilateral long-term programs for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation through the year 2000.

The session drew attention to the need to seek out additional opportunities to increase reciprocal deliveries above the level agreed in the course of the preceding coordination of plans, particularly as regards advanced technology corresponding to the best world models, as well as fuel, energy, raw materials, individual types of chemical industry output, high-quality consumer goods, and food.

The session gave instructions for the elaboration of a program to coordinate plans for the next 5-year plan period. envisaging a broad range of measures within this program. It is intended to launch work on the coodination of economic policy in areas involving mutual cooperation and the shaping of stable economic ties, primarily in sectors which determine scientific and technical progress. The task has also been set ensuring that reciprocally delivered commodities are up the highest world standards and of implementing measures to consolidate the CEMA countries' technical and economic invulnerability with respect to capitalist countries.

The session noted that the acceleration of fraternal countries; economic growth and the deepening of the processes of cooperation and socialist economic integration will promote the incipient implementation of a number of large-scale multilateral accords along priority avenues. [paragraph continues]

They include cooperation in the construction of the Yamburg-USSR western border gas pipeline, the use of natural gas as a transport fuel, international specialization and production sharing in the output of flexible production system including the production and national economic utilization of robots and automated planning systems, and the creation of a uniform system of optical fiber facilities for data transmission.

It was noted that great attention is being given to cooperation in machine building. Reciprocal deliveries of machines and equipment have increased on the basis of specialization and production sharing agreements, with deliveries of specialized output accounting for 40 percent of total volume of exports of machine building products by CEMA countries in 1985. Numerous machine building sectors have created microprocessor systems for the automatic control of individual technological processes.

In order to solve the fuel and raw materials problem, CEMA countries continued their cooperation in the construction of a number of major projects, boosted the capacities of nuclear power stations through joint efforts, and implemented coordinated cooperation measures aimed at saving energy and material resources.

Having noted a number of shortcomings in cooperation, the session set the CEMA organs the task of consistently implementing the economic summit decisions and making fuller use of the potential of international specialization and production sharing. Attention was drawn in particular to the task of raising the technical standards and quality of reciprocally delivered products and ensuring the prompt performance of cooperation pledges made by the countries. The need for more efficient coordination of capital investments in agreed areas of cooperation projects was noted.

In this regard the session outlined a number of measures aimed at enhancing the efficiency of cooperation.

It was recommended that more attention be given to thew introduction and broad utilization of the results of developments under the comprehenisve program for scientific and technical progress and the deepening of specialization and production sharing on a multilateral and bilateral basis.

The session stressed that one of the most important tasks of cooperation at the present-day stage is to further deepen specialization and production sharing on the basis of the development of progressive forms of cooperation such as direct links in the area of science and production among the CEMA countries' economic organizations and the creation by interested countries of joint associations, enterprises, design bureaus, scientific organizations, and other international collectives on a financially autonomous basis. To that end, a number of CEMA countries are taking steps to expand the powers of economic, scientific, and technical organizations and to create conditions for direct cooperation among them, primarily with a view to accelerating the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress.

Attaching great importance to further developing cooperation in the sphere of the CEMA countries' nuclear power industries, the session approved the program for the construction of nuclear power stations and nuclear heat supply stations by the year 2000. It is planned to step up the introduction of capacities at nuclear stations and equip them on the basis of international production sharing. It is planned to develop a range of measures in line with the IAEA-approved program for the creation of an international system for the safe development of nuclear power.

Consistently implementing the economic conference's line of accelerating the development and improving the efficiency of the national economies of the SRV, Cuba, and Mongolia, and ensuring more extensive participation by them in the international socialist division of labor, the European CEMA countries outlined measures to further improve cooperation with the SRV, Cuba, and Mongolia with a view to developing the main sectors of these countries' national economies.

The deepening of ties between CEMA and the SFRY was noted with satisfaction and the CEMA countries' firm intention to further consistently develop economic cooperation with the other socialist states was expressed.

Implementing a principled policy of strengthening relations with developing and nonaligned states, the CEMA countries support their just struggle to consolidate their independence and social progress, to establish a new world economic order, to justly solve the problems of foreign debt on a global scale, and to eradicate the vestiges of colonialism and racism. They make a high assessment of the decisions of the conference of nonaligned countries' heads of state and government in Harare on the questions of the struggle to avert the threat of nuclear war, to ensure disarmament, to oppose imperialism, colonisalism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid, to ensure the peoples' right to independent development, and to restructure international economic relations on a fair basis. The cooperation of CEMA and its constituent countries with Nicaragua, Mozambique, Mexico, and Iraq has been further developed on the basis of agreements signed with those states. The CEMA session ratified CEMA cooperation agreements with Angola, Socialist Ethiopia, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The CEMA countries will continue to provide economic, scientific, and technical assistance to the developing states in the interests of the peoples of those states.

The CEMA countries intend to develop mutually advantageous and equal trade, economic, scientific, and technical links with developed capitalist countries. The multifaceted cooperation between CEMA countries and Finland is an example of fruitful collaboration.

The session assessed positively the recent progress in establishing official relations between CEMA and the EEC and between individual CEMA countries and the EEC. The fraternal countries reaffirmed their conviction that further progress in this area would promote the improvement of mutual understanding and trust between the CEMA and EEC countries, the expansion of mutually advantageous trade, economic, scientific, and technical ties among them, and the improvement of political and economic relations in the European region and worldwide.

Hope was expressed that the meeting that has just started in Vienna of representatives of the participating states in the CSCE will be an important landmark in the further development of all-European cooperation in all areas and will have a favorable effect on the international climate as a whole. For their part, the European CEMA countries are prepared to make a constructive contribution to achieving specific accords to promote an improvement in the political climate, the resumption of detente, reductions in armed forces and conventional arms, and the strengthening of confidence and security on the continent. They persistently advocate the expansion of cooperation in the area of the economy, science, technology, and the environment, the eradication of discrimination and practices hampering the development of mutually advantageous ties in these areas, the strengthening of confidence in economic relations among states, extensive cooperation in the cultural and humanitarian areas and the complete safeguarding of human rights in all areas -- particularly the right to live in peace and freedom -- given respect for the sovereignty of states.

Noting that economic development and the development of mutual cooperation among the CEMA countries over the past 5 years and in 1986 have taken place in a tense international situation, the fraternal socialist countries expressed serious concern at the intensification of the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and in connection with U.S. and NATO actions in refusing to embark on the path of curbing the arms race, preventing its spread to space, and ending nuclear tests.

The CEMA countries declared their total support for the USSR's constructive stand at the Soviet-U.S. summit in Reykjavik and made a high assessment of the large-scale and far-reaching Soviet proposals aimed at achieving a breakthrough in all avenues of the struggle for disarmament and the eradication of the threat of nuclear war.

The session expressed the countries' determination to continue dialogue and to struggle vigorously to end the nuclear arms race, to create a comprehensive international security system, and to ensure peace. The CEMA countries proceed on the basis that joint actions on the part of governments, peoples, and all realistically minded people can solve the fundamental question of our time -- the ending of the arms race, first and foremost the nuclear arms race, the achievement of disarmament, and the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.

The socialist community countries are convinced that the elimination of mass destruction weapons by the end of this century would not only avert the threat to civilization's very existence but would also release enormous material funds which are so necessary for solving mankind's acute socioeconomic problems.

The session also noted the importance of the proposals put forward by the Warsaw Pact states in their Budapest Declaration on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe accompanied by a corresponding reduction in states' military spending.

The CEMA countries assess highly the results of the first stage of the Stockholm Conference and note that political will, reason, and mutual understanding made it possible to reach mutual accords at the conference that are of great importance for strengthening confidence and security.

The CEMA countries stress that the task of ridding international economic relations of all kinds of artificial barriers and restructuring and safeguarding international economic security in order to equally protect each state's interests is increasingly important and urgent in the current international situation.

The CEMA countries noted the importance of holding global talks within the UN framework with the participation of all states, with a view to reaching a just solution to the most important international economic problems. They advocate convening a world forum to discuss all the burdens placed on world economic ties.

The session stressed that in the the complex and contradictory international situation the decision adopted by the session to deepen cooperation and socialist economic integration are of particular importance, and it expressed confidence that these measures would promote the further development of the CEMA countries' economies, the strengthening of their positions in the world, and the boosting of socialism's influence on the entire course of world development.

The session sitting was held in an atmosphere of unanimity, fraternal friendship, mutual respect, and complete mutual understanding.

Ryzhkov, Delegation Return

PM070911 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 86 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Soviet Delegation Returns"]

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Nov -- The Soviet delegation headed by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, left for home today. It had been taking part in the 42d meeting of the CEMA session.

The delegation included L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; B.I. Aristov, USSR foreign trade minister; and V.P. Loginov, USSR deputy foreign minister.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by C. Dascalescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and prime minister of the Romanian Government; S. Birlea, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and chairman of the Romanian State Planning Committee; S. Andrei, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; C. Pacoste, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, deputy prime minister of the Romanian government, and permanent Romanian representative to CEMA; I. Ursu, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology; and other officials.

Among the sendoff party was Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Romania.

The delegation headed by N.I. Ryzhkov returned to Moscow the same day.

The delegation was met at the airport by G.A. Aliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Smirtyukov, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.P. Bugayev, USSR minister; Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and other officials.

Among the welcoming party was M. Ion, Romanian ambassador to the USSR.

SHEVARDNADZE DELIVERS SPEECH TO CSCE IN VIENNA

PM061156 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 86 First Edition p 5

[Speech given by Eduard Shevardnadze, foreign minister and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, on 5 November at a meeting of the representatives of the participating states held in Vienna]

[Text] Esteemed comrade chairman:
Ladies and gentlemen!
Comrades!

The Vienna meeting has opened in the conditions of new times. It is a time of vigorous actions which brook no delay. Europe is capable of speeding up the course of events, channelling them into a course of new political thinking. The recent lessons of Geneva, Budapest, Berne and Stockholm bear witness to the fact that this is possible. The lessons of Reykjavik insist that it is necessary. Reykjavik showed that a maximal amount of positive results is possible over a minimal amount of time. Reykjavik also bore witness to the fact that a maximal amount of disappointment is also possible over a minimal amount of time.

However, despite the attempts to destroy the building commenced there, we assert that the foundations are intact, the shell has been preserved and construction can continue.

Reflecting on this we return time and again to Reykjavik, its lessons and the truth about it.

The Vienna meeting cannot pass over Reykjavik, for it was there that a turning point in Europe's movement toward a nuclear-free world was marked. A historic chance for it arose there as well. Finally, the finest hour might have come for all mankind there as well.

Why did it not come? The answer is not one that any of us would be indifferent to.

A profound and precise analysis of the events of 11-12 October has been made by M.S. Gorbachev. It only remains for me to add a few words in connection with the growing wave of political speculation and tendentious interpretations of the Soviet-U.S. meeting.

The truth must be established not for the archieves, but for the present and the future. In the interests of the latter, is it extremely important for all to know where the points of mutual understanding, which could today serve as the line from which to depart in subsequent steps forward, were established in Reykjavik.

The pinnacle of the talks was, undoubtedly, the coincidence of the stands of the leaders of the USSR and United States on elimination of all nuclear arms. We pay our due to the U.S. President, who agreed to doing this in an even shorter time than what was originally proposed in our 15 Janauary statement.

As a participant in the talks I personally was reassured by the President, who said it would be very good to eliminate all nuclear explosive devices, including bombs, battlefield systems, cruise missiles, submarine weapons and intermediate range systems by the end of two 5-year periods. He directly proposed entrusting an accord on this score to our delegations in Geneva for them to prepare a treaty that could be signed during our party general secretary's visit to the United States.

The mutual understanding that during the first stage the sides would reduce all elements of the nuclear triad by 50 percent was just as specific. This also concerned Soviet heavy missiles.

The general secretary and the U.S. President adopted a formula for resolving the question of medium-range nuclear missiles according to which neither Soviet nor U.S. missiles of this class should remain in Europe.

In essence the Geneva talks were given a fresh start. If the United States really wishes to continue from this starting line then the delegations in Geneva can immediately set about preparing the appropriate agreements.

Our delegation is ready for this work.

A single obstacle remains on the path toward this -- the U.S. "Star Wars" program.

We have done everything to reach a solution here. Regardless of our quite definite opinion on SDI, we made a compromise which is being stubbornly kept quiet. We agreed to a 10-year cycle of U.S. laboratory research work on this program. In 10 years, under conditions of reduction and liquidation of nuclear arms, it would then be clearer what to do next, what final solutions to look for. This is an honest position.

Judge for yourselves whether the counter position is sensible: To deploy SDI immediately when the 10-year period expires. The President said clearly that following it, the United States would immediately inform us about its withdrawal from the ABM Treaty. In other words, they have invited us to sanction the deployment of space weapons and sign the death sentence for this treaty, only postponing its execution for 10 years.

No matter how the "great dream" about the anti missile "shield" is presented the intent of this venture is transparent: To allow the space genie out of the test tube as soon as possible so as to gain military superiority.

The issue is in fact not as simple as it is depicted in Washington. And inasmuch as nuclear disarmament affects all peoples, and space is the common property of mankind, then efforts to figure out what SDI and the new spiral of the arms race associated with it will mean for mankind must be made jointly. If that is not done than there can be no solution to any of the problems of the package that has now emerged -- be it the problem of strategic weapons or that of medium-range missiles.

Let me stress: What we have here is not a package of conditions; rather it is a package of compromises, and it must be seen in that context.

From the lessons of Reykjavik we draw the following conclusions:

First [preceding word underlined by TASS]: However tough may be the struggle for a world without nuclear weapons it is far from being devoid of promise. The hope for attaining mutually acceptable accords rests on real grounds. The work done at Hofdi House prepared the ground quite well for finally beginning a move toward a non nuclear world.

Second [preceding word underlined by TASS]: There is a lack of logic in the position of some European leaders on nuclear disarmament issues. [paragraph continues]

When there finally arose the real possibility for clearing the continent of missiles they began to speak of the need to retain U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe and to defend their imagined privileges to nuclear status.

What a lot of furious words erupted at one time concerning our stand on British and French nuclear arsenals. But now that a concession which is bold and to some extent even risky for us has magnaminously been made, we are offered a modern version of the comedy "Much Ado About Nothing." As if nothing had in fact happened, as if we had not taken such a serious and responsible step to accommodate our partners. There are even some cynics who are now saying that the NATO governments never seriously wanted this. They put up their argument about the British and French weapons because they were certain that the Soviet Union would never accept it. In other words, they were bluffing, engaging in demagogy.

Now, instead of saying "We will join with you in time," they are all but declaring their nuclear weapons to be eternal.

Does this mean that our missiles in Europe are a threat, but their missiles are a chocolate selection from a candy box?

It is a pity that some political leaders have proved to be unprepared to think in terms of a nuclear-free Europe.

I would link the third lesson with the sphere of morals and ethics. Here in Vienna where Metternich and Talleyrand once broke the record for duplicity, it is appropriate to say that procedure in interstate relations must also be based on elementary personal probity. This all-European home that we are building and in which all are equal will not become reliable and strong if deceit, half-truths and disinformation are mixed into the mortar that holds it together. A shortage of trust must not be created because of false understanding of national prestige or election campaign concerns.

In light of what has been happening since Reykjavik, we are obliged to observe that the virus of disinformation has penetrated the highest echelons of the leadership of certain Western countries. Permit me to say on this matter that it is immoral to pray before national holy relics in the language of political deception.

It is immoral to start a "battle of explulsions" for the sake of pre-election strategy and to please one's "hawk" friends. This is dishonorable politicking which sometimes leads to tragicomic results. But they, too, are useful, because they are instructive.

There is one lesson here: When you are talking about relations between countries like the USSR and the United States, it is pointless to hope for victory, and not only in nuclear war -- you can't even win small "diplomatic" wars. In the White House they have recently had the opportunity to convince themselves of this.

You can't manage or remove the barriers of confrontation without parity in dignity and honesty.

The daily statements about the overriding importance of military might do not help our trust in our partners. It is no longer a time for serious people to accept without irony talk to the effect that with the Russians one has to do business from a position of strength. This is a dangerous mania. It is well known from history that such superman self-hypnosis has always led to sorry results.

Our ideal is not the policy of strength but the strength of policy. This is what the new political thinking is, and we appeal for it to be considered.

It commands us to act in order not miss the historic chance to get out of the deadlock.

In these conditions the importance of the all-European process grows sharply. The Vienna meeting testifies to its vitality.

Despite all the twists and zigzags in the past, today it is confidently moving along the main road of our times, asserting the concept of peaceful coexistence as a supreme universal principle of relations between states.

The concept of security is also aquiring new parameters. More and more, it is coming out as the task of creating, by joint efforts, the political, material, organizational and other structures for the preservation of peace which would exclude the very possiblity of war arising.

In point of fact the fundamental aspect of the all-European process and those of the system of comprehensive security formulated by M.S. Gorbachev are to a large extent similar. They are located, as it were, in a single system of coordinates, and directed toward one aim.

The three "baskets" of the Helsinki accords are integral parts of the proposed concept of security. Arguments as to which to give preference to are fruitless. What is needed is not argument, but action, in order to achieve real progress in each of the directions. Here one complements and strengthens the other. For this reason, given all-round development, the all-European process could become in its own way a model for the realization of a system of universal security.

It goes without saying that the initiatives put forward earlier by the Soviet Union remain in force: on the dissolution of the military-political alliances that confront one another, nonaggression, on the non-use of force and on the strengthening of security in the Mediterranean region. All these are directly written into the proposal on university security.

We are glad to note a growing concentration of fresh ideas and specific proposals in the all-European dialogue. In literally a year it has been enriched to an exceptional degree in content and form. There are many more facets to it today than there have ever been. A highly active role is played in it by the neutral and nonaligned states, public movements and political parties and by youth, women's and religious organizations.

In the political field, lines of communication have been restored between governments, interstate contacts have acquired new vitality, and an even wider range of problems is becoming the subject of bilateral and multilateral talks and consultations.

Slowly but steadily contacts are being established between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community.

It was found possible to make a very big step in the field of military detente and confidence building measures. I have Stockholm in mind here. We would like to believe that this success will mark the emergence of a new tendency within the framework of the all-European process.

Stockholm number one leads to Stockholm number two -- to measures of real disarmament in Europe. All European countries and governments have come out in favor of attaining this goal. After all, disarmament is the most reliable and effective base to solve the problems that have accumulated in any area of our life.

Naturally, states may have different views on how to embark on disarmament in practice. This must be examined in an honest and frank manner within the wide circle of the participants in the all-European process.

However, it is important not to lose momentum, not to drown things in protracted debates.

We are in favor of these discussions being dynamic and flexible. Why not proceed here on several levels in parallel? It would be possible, let's say, to organize contacts among working groups representing the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, as was proposed by M.S. Gorbachev, without waiting for conclusive formulation of a mandate for a conference on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe.

We think of this as a first practical step toward an all-European conference. The fate of Europe is above any approaches based on blocs and it must be determined by all European countries. The continent has no need for concerts by "elite" powers. What it needs is harmonious polyphony with the voices of neutral and nonaligned states sounding as strongly as others. However, the work by expert groups from the two military-political alliances may produce an extremely interesting political result.

At the conference in Budapest, the Warsaw Pact countries worked out a balanced program of European disarmament in a broad geographical zone -- from the Atlantic to the Urals.

This is not simply a reduction of arms and armed forces. The socialist countries have advocated a sequence of reduction through which the danger of a sudden attack would be reduced, military-strategic stability would be strengthened, and trust would increase.

Reliable verification [kontrol] of such a reduction can be ensured both by national technical means and by international forms of verification [proverka], including on-site inspections. Incidentally, inspections, which will take place from the beginning of next year in connection with the agreement on confidence-building measures, will help to test possible methods of verifying European disarmament.

We are steadfastly moving forward completely ridding the territory of Europe of chemical weapons. Soon the Soviet Union will submit new and promising proposals in this regard which substantially develop the ideas being discussed and which take into account proposals from Britain and other countries.

The consolidation of stability and trust will undoubtedly be furthered by the creation of zones free of chemical and nuclear weapons, in the Balkans, in the central, northern and other part of the continent.

Today, not a single chance must be missed. Mankind loses too much already. Surely we Europeans are not incapable of doing anything toward the total ending of nuclear explosions? The test ranges are silent to the east of many of you, that is, in the Soviet Union. They continue to be shaken by blasts in the Western hemisphere. Is the world not paying too high a price for so-called Atlantic solidarity?

Why should mankind pay with alarm and privation for the desire of the U.S. military-industrial complex to acquire a new field of operations for pumping out super profits?

Why should disarmament, so much needed by the peoples in order also to improve their lives, be a hostage to the imperial hegemonistic interests of someone or other?

A sober and honest answer to these questions clarifies in a thorough going way the truth, which is that the Strategic Defense Initiative not only wrecked the accords at Reykjavik but also blocked the way to fundamental changes in all spheres of the life of mankind.

The Vienna meeting will draw up results of the all-European process over the last 3 years. No small amount has been done since Madrid, though in our view a broader and more confident pace is needed. Once the stage of elaboration by experts and of incidental matters has been left behind, then the all-European process is capable of resolving large-scale problems of politics, economics, ecology and culture, and simply of human relations.

It is only through joint efforts that we can eradicate in Europe the plague of the 20th century -- terrorism. Those that unleash street warfare and spill the blood of innocent people in the towns of Europe are our common enemy. But here, our collective reason should not identify the criminal actions of amoral and irresponsible killers with entire peoples and countries.

The political climate in Europe depends, to no small extent, on the development of the whole complex of economic ties between the West and the East. This is a kind of economic guarantee of peace.

Let us, then, think how to make the foreign economic ties serve all the peoples of the continent, how to open up a vista for nations to come closer through the economy.

We support the idea, put forward by a number of countries, of holding a European economic forum. The Soviet Union will come to it with a broad program, based on the measures being taken in our own country for restructuring our economy and further improving foreign economic activity. They open up favorable opportunities for promising new forms of cooperation, including industrial coproduction, creation of joint enterprises, and direct links between firms and associations.

However, as the saying goes, man does not live by bread alone. Since the times of Plato, and perhaps earlier, there have been arguments about what system best fits the requirements of man and ensures his liberty

For thousands of years, people have tried to settle these arguments by force of arms, and even today they are "reinforcing" philosophical polemics by means of war.

Having declared peace as the highest value of socialism, the Soviet Union rejects military force as a method of affirming ideas and concepts. Any disputes about the advantages and shortcomings of this or that system can and should be resolved by peaceful competition among sociopolitical and economic systems.

We are not trying to convert anyone to our faith. Nevertheless, we have defended and will continue to defend ideas that are dear to us. [paragraph continues]

More than 1 and 1/2 billion people in countries that have chosen the socialist path of development have every right to demand that they should not have imposed upon them from outside someone else's ideas about the fundamental values of existence.

We will firmly conduct a course for extending the kind of contact between people and the kinds of exchange of information and spiritual values that serve humanism and peace.

Having entered the 2d decade after Helsinki, we must not get away from answering the question of what its higher meaning was.

We formulate our vision of the goals of the all-European process as assisting the democratization of interstate relations and democratism in public life in every country. One is inseparable from the other.

These words are not for porpagandist export. The 27th congress of our party called the task of further democratization in all its manifestations a central one, and we are solving this task.

The strength of any society lies in its capacity for self-perfection. The strength of the socialist system broadly brings out this capacity.

The concepts of "democracy" and "freedom" are not static. Moreover, there can be no mononpoly on their interpretation and practical implementation.

The Soviet Union attached great significance to the seventh principle of the Final Act on respecting human rights and basic freedoms, including the freedoms of thought, conscience, religion and conviction.

Recently, major legislative and administrative measures have been adopted in our country for the further development of international contacts, for the solution of issues of reuniting families and concluding mixed marriages in human spirit. We have announced the readiness to be guided in these issues in practice by the draft document of the Bern conference of experts, although it has not been formally adopted and everyone knows why.

Concerning the Bern document itself, it has been published in full in our country, in the USSR. We also have a right to expect that other countries will take steps toward bringing their legislation and rules on issues of contacts into line with international documents and obligations.

In our view, that fundamental UN document, the International Bill of Human Rights, has been undeservedly forgotten. This unique and universal code establishes norms for the behavior of states in guaranteeing man's individual rights, his rights to work, housing, leisure, free education, medical and social assistance, access to cultural life, participation in scientific process and enjoyment of its benefits.

We are deeply disturbed by the fact that this act is ignored by a number of states, primarily the United States, where the violation of basic human rights is of a systematic and mass nature.

Since quite a number of problems of humanitarian cooperation have accumulated and they all call for great attention and a large-scale approach with new historical yardsticks, the Soviet Union is proposing that a representative conference of participant states of the all-European conference be convened to discuss this whole range of issues, including contacts among people and questions of information, culture and education.

We invite this forum to come to us, to Moscow. We make this invitation, and what we have in mind is to hold a comprehensive discussion oriented toward achieving a practical result and to reach a mutual understanding that would enable us to improve the state of affairs in the humanitarian sphere in all the countries that are members of the all-European process. I think this idea will find support.

The Soviet delegation expresses its deep gratitude for the kindness and hospitality of the Austrian Republic, which has taken upon itself to organize our meeting, as well as to the Austrian Government, the Austrian people, the municipal authorities and the inhabitants of Vienna.

Our meeting here in the capital of Austria is devoted to the future of Europe. A city in which the institutions of European diplomacy were formed cannot fail to stimulate the formation of a new European reality and the strengthening of peaceful structures on our continent.

We believe that all the peoples of that continent are united in this desire. For indeed, in addition to what there is in common in geographic terms, there is also a community of cultures and history, there is a bond in suffering and sacrifices; and regardless of who is to blame for these our historical memory gives us no rest and calls us to action for the sake of a peaceful Eruope, indefatigable in its constructive cooperation.

Every day and every hour we will demonstrate by action, and only action, our honest and sincere desire to strengthen the process, the essence of which was expressed so powerfully and precisely by M.S. Gorbachev: "Europeans can preserve their home, make it better and more secure only collectively, following the judicious norms of international communication and cooperation."

Yes, only collectively and only in judicious communication can security be preserved. We are not opposed to arguments, which generate truth; we are opposed to discords, which obscure it. In becoming like medieval scholars, it is possible to miss seeing the main path and to stray for a long time in the darkness of one's own prejudices.

The tone that we are now going to set for the discussion will determine the measure of its constructiveness. Let us concern ourselves with this today, so that tomorrow we will not reap the bitter fruit of senseless confrontation.

The note on which our meeting bagan must remain pure to the end.

SHEVARDNADZE ISSUES STATEMENT ON CSCE TALKS

LD061026 Moscow TASS in English 1018 GMT 6 Nov 86

[All quotations as received]

[Text] Vienna November 6 TASS -- Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, made a statement at Vienna airport before leaving the Austrian capital. Follows the text of the statement:

"Saying goodbye to Vienna and to you, I would like to say a few words.

First, the Vienna meeting. It opened at a time which is very important to Europe and therefore at the right time.

The problem now is to what extent its content will correspond to the importance of this time. This will depend on all the participants in the meeting without exception and on the constructiveness of their dialogue.

Europe is expecting from Vienna substantial practical results, such as those which were recently yielded by Stockholm, results in every area defined by the Helsinki Final Act."

"We would like bold, major, innovative ideas to triumph here, ideas which could be introduced in the collective European practice without delay. If the Vienna meeting passes in the spirit of new political thinking, it will undoubtedly produce decisions which will ensure greater security and a higher level of cooperation in every area.

We have a great hope for such an outcome and the beginning of the general discussion in the Hofburg Palace bolstered it.

Quite a few profound ideas were voiced which undoubtedly are of great practical interest. I will permit myself to single out from among them the Soviet Union's proposal on a forum to discuss problems of cooperation in humanitarian fields. We invite it to our capital.

Moscow is a friendly and hospitable city."

"Comparing the European process to a bridge between two distant banks, one can say that our country will continue tirelessly to fortify its crucial pylons.

The Vienna meeting is giving an impetus to this process and a meeting in Moscow will continue it.

We wish success to the Vienna meeting. We want it to pass dynamically and yield good results. We will contribute to them in every way.

Second, the talks in Vienna, primarily with the leaders of the Austrian Republic and her notable politicians. These talks will be remembered for a long time for their substantiveness and atmosphere of absolutely sincere and interested discussion of various problems.

A broad range of issues, from the results of the Reykjavik meeting and the peaceful exploration of outer space to the tasks of the Vienna meeting, were raised during the audience with President Kurt Waldheim."

"I would say without exaggerating that relations between the Soviet Union and Austria are a model of cooperation between states with different socio-political systems. This model is extremely important precisely under conditions of Europe today because it shows that even fundamental differences are no obstacle to productive cooperation with mutual benefit.

But there are no bounds for improvement, as they say, and we will enrich our contacts.

The same theme dominated the talks with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Peter Jankovitsch. We discussed bilateral relations in a very broad context, not in isolation of the European process. The problems that provided the background of that dialogue were disarmament in Europe and the role and place of our countries on the road to that historical goal.

Having explained our positions, we expressed profound respect for Austria, its policy of neutrality and its constructive efforts on Europe's political watershed."

I cannot but mention also other conversations I had in Vienna. They were not planned in the protocol but benefited us greatly too, they were short but left a wonderfully good feeling, they were impromptu but reflected a trend. Those were conversations with Austrians in the city's streets in between official functions. I was moved deeply by their respectful attitude to my country and its people and by their interest in the success of its policy. I detected a fresh approach to international events and phenomena on the part of many, especially young, people I talked with.

Generally, I should say that, to my view, there has emerged in Europe, in particular in Austria, a generation of young politicians demonstrating a bold breadth of views and a freedom from diehard notions.

I would like to believe that the future belongs to them.

Third, the Vienna contacts. The meeting in the Austrian capital gave us a unique opportunity to carry on old and form new contacts with politicians prominent in Europe. As always, I was glad to meet, and talk about our comon affairs, with friends, the foreign ministers of the socialist countries.

I also had meetings with colleagues from Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States and other countries. We talked about various aspects of the CSCE process and the world situation in close connection with the goals of the Vienna meeting. Our opinions turned out to be close or even identical on many issues.

I shall not conceal from you, however, that some aspects of the position of our partners are disappointing. Reykjavik has created a new atmosphere in European politics but politicians of the leading NATO countries have not yet been able to adapt to it.

A few words about my meetings with State Secretary Shultz. Contrary to general expectations and numerous statements by Washington about its desire to follow up on what has been started in Reykjavik, we encountered attempts by the American side to beat a complete retreat from the high ground reached in Iceland, to draw back to the old levels.

If one is to sum up the American position briefly, one should say that both here and in Geneva it is a mix of old mothballed views and approaches as compared with concessions made by the Soviet Union in Reykjavik as part of its suggested package of proposals.

One cannot help the impression that our partners would like to forget Reykjavik as soon as possible.

There is no way they can do this. Reykjavik has left such a deep trace that it cannot be deleted. Although the talks with the large American team left us with a bitter aftertaste, we are not losing the hope that Washington will understand sooner or later that there is no road back and that now we must only move forward -- to a complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

In conclusion I would like to say that Vienna can become a historic landmark in the European nations' march to a better future.

We are grateful to the Austrian Republic, the government and people of Austria for their exemplary organization of the Vienna meeting and for their friendliness and hospitality. But the best expression of our gratitude will be a fast and productive holding of this meeting and its meaningful outcome. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 7 November carries a similar report on Shevardnadze's statement with the following addition: "The same day E.A. Shevardnadze returned to Moscow. He was met at the airport by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and other officials."]

Further Details

AU061217 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1113 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Helmut Opletal report on a statement given by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on 6 November at Vienna's Schwechat Airport before leaving for Moscow -- recorded; Shevardnadze's statements in Russian with consecutive German translation, monitored from German]

[Excerpts] Shortly before his departure Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze faced the journalists -- he was calm and self-assured although the written statement that the foreign minister had handed out is very negative about his meeting with U.S. State Secretary George Shultz. [passage omitted]

Eduard Shevardnadze then explains specific items of the statement. Asked about further contacts and the continuation of the dialogue he says:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] I can tell you frankly -- and this is also contained in the statement -- that the position of the United States is bad. In essence the U.S. proposals are the old proposals with the addition of the Soviet concessions. This is the nature of the American proposals. This is what the position is like at present. Let us wait to see what is going to come next. The contacts will be continued -- we agreed on that with our interlocutors. The dialogue will be continued. [end recording]

Is the spirit of Reykjavik dead now, one journalist asks the Soviet foreign minister.

[Begin recording] No, the spirit of Reykjavik has not evaporated. I can tell you with some (?responsibility) that the Soviet Union will strictly defend the positions and the mutual agreement reached in Reykjavik. We have no moral right -- and this refers not only to our responsibility toward our own people but to our responsibility toward all of mankind -- to withdraw from these principles. [end recording]

Another journalist asked in which concrete aspects the Americans are retreating from the agreements reached in Reykjavik.

[Begin recording] In all important issues. [end recording]

For instance, in strategic offensive weapons, Shevardnadze explains. A principle agreement was reached about the elimination of all nuclear arsenals by 1996, and now the U.S. side is pulling away from this position. In our opinion, Shevardnadze says, this must not happen. Shevardnadze does not want to absolutely exclude the possibility of another summmit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev this year.

[Begin recording] We have not fixed any dates for the meetings between the ministers, not to speak of the summit. [end recording]

Anyway, the Soviets will submit their positions this week at the disarmament talks in Geneva -- positions essentially based on the agreements reached in Reykjavik, at least according to Soviet interpretation. What is going to happen in the future, one has to wait and see, says Shevardnadze, who is now in a hurry and says farewell to Vienna.

[Begin recording] Ladies and gentlemen, we will be punished if we cause a delay to the plane. Good-bye, thank you for your attention. [end recording]

TASS REVIEWS CSCE SPEECHES, CRITICIZES SHULTZ

LD060710 Moscow TASS in English 0523 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Vienna November 6 TASS -- Sten Andersson, Swedish minister of foreign affairs, has called on representatives of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) participating states to have a frank dialogue and to achieve concrete results here at the Vienna meeting as soon as possible.

"The success in Stockholm", he said, "should prompt us to carry on talks within the framework of the CSCE process. We must build confidence both globally and between our countries, including that in the economic field".

"The CSCE results have stood the test of time and have shown their ability to engender new political processes in the world", stated Paavo Vayrynen, Finnish minister of foreign affairs.

He emphasised that the success achieved in Stockholm showed the existence of possibilities at the Vienna meeting for the elaboration of a mandate to holding the second stage of the Stockholm conference, at which matters of disarmament in Europe would be discussed.

"We believe that a substantial contribution to strengthening European security and to deepening fruitful cooperation between countries and peoples will be made as a result of the Vienna meeting", stated Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs.

"The Vienna meeting is taking place in favourable conditions", emphasised Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek. "This has been promoted by the summit meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik".

"The new political thinking", the speaker said, "meets with growing support. New realistically-minded forces, which are prepared to act in favour of peace, are emerging in the world arena".

He suggested holding an "economic forum" in Prague with the participation of representatives of business, financial and scientific circles in the interim between the Vienna meeting and next follow-up meeting. They could discuss matters aimed at stimulating the development of mutually beneficial relations between East and West in the nineties.

Marian Orzechowski, Polish minister of foreign affairs, reminded the participants in the meeting about the fact that his country had already suggested receiving representatives of the countries which had signed the Final Act of the Helsinki conference in Warsaw in September 1989 with a view to discussing the key problems of peace, security and cooperation in Europe.

He expressed indignation over the fact that Europe has to pay for the policy of the United States which brings to the fore only its private interests to the detriment of the security and interests of European countries.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz maintained that the lack of results at the Reykjavik meeting had been accounted for by a desire of the Soviet side to extend the provisions of the ABM Treaty to cover research under SDI in order to undermine that programme which, he said, the West badly needed and which ostensibly fitted into the ABM treaty limits quite well.

The negative approach to disarmament matters also manifested itself in his pronouncements to the effect that the United States intended to link the arms limitation process with the human rights issue.

Thereby the U.S. secretary of state showed once again that the United States did not abandon attempts at unceremonious interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries.

The speech by Charles Joseph Clark, Canadian secretary of state for external affairs, was styled in the same vein. He focussed attention on the 'third basket' issues.

Such statements do not square in any way with the striving of many participants in the Vienna forum to begin constructive discussions.

The line towards finning up [as received] confrontation and rhetoric rendered a bad service in the past. Therefore one can only regret that some CSCE participants are trying to revive it at the Vienna meeting.

HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED IN VIENNA

AU061651 Paris AFP in English 1645 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Vienna, Nov 6 (AFP) -- The International Society for Human Rights on Thursday said Soviet television, in an unprecedented move, had interviewed two of its officials about alleged abuses of civil liberties in the Soviet Union.

The two-hour interview, which took place at an office that the Society has set up in Vienna for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), included footage of a map showing the location of labour camps in the Soviet Union, the society said.

The two officials, Soviet emigres Wanda Wahnsiedler and Yuri Belov, told the two-man TV crew about Soviet groups who monitor the Kremlin's record on the human-rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

The Society, which is headquartered in Frankfurt, West Germany, also said that one of its spokesmen was interviewed by the Soviet TV crew. The society's spokesman appealed to Soviet TV viewers to notify the organization of any violations of human rights.

The two Soviet journalists reportedly declined to say when, or if, the footage would be broadcast.

In another development, the Society's delegation chief at the CSCE, Edgar Lamm, on Wednesday handed documents on alleged Soviet violations of human rights to the first Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs, Anatoliy Kovalev, the society said.

Mr Kovalev said he would study the documents, the society said, adding that it thought this a "positive development" in the light of Moscow's persistent refusal to accept such documents in the past.

GORBACHEV TALKS TO ISSYK-KUL FORUM PARTICIPANTS

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[Unattributed "transcript of M.S. Gorbachev's conversation with participants in the 'Issyk-kul Forum'": "The Times Demand New Thinking" -- first two paragraphs are LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met on 20 October 1986 a group of world cultural figures who were in the Soviet Union at the invitation of writer Chingiz Aytmatov. The guests spent several days in Kirghizia, where they exchanged opinions on the most topical questions of modern times. This meeting was given the name "Issyk-kul Forum." Taking part in the meeting were: Turkish writer Yashar Kemal; Narayan Menon, president of the Indian Academy of Music and Drama; Cuban prose writer Lisandro Otero; Alexander King, president of the Club of Rome; U.S. playwright Arthur Miller; his wife, painter Inga Miller; Turkish composer Omer Livanelli; U.S. prose writer James Baldwin; French writer and Nobel prize winner Claude Simon; Federico Mayor, Spanish public figure and literary worker; Augusto Forti, member of the UNESCO Secretariat; U.S. futurologist Alvin Toffler; his wife, philosopher Heidi Toffler; British writer, actor, and director Peter Ustinov; Ethiopian painter Afework Tekle; and U.S. actor David Baldwin.

We publish a transcript of M.S. Gorbachev's conversation with the participants in the "Issyk-kul Forum."

M.S. Gorbachev: I have the feeling that both you and I had a desire to meet. This is why I cordially welcome you all. I know only Chingiz Aytmatov personally. I have probably read everything he has written. The others I know only indirectly through their works of art and their work.

I know the reason you are in the Soviet Union, visiting our writer Chingiz Aytmatov. I read your brief interviews in yesterday's newspaper. But maybe you would like to tell me about it in more detail today.

You can take the floor fist. I also have a few things to say. In my view, we all have something to tell each other. And if the next step both on our and your side consists of actions -- and here we already represent many countries and different continents -- this would be good.

Chingiz Aytmatov, speaking on behalf of the "Issyk-kul Forum," thanked M.S. Gorbachev for the fact that, despite his colossal commitments, he did find time to meet the guests. The Issyk-kul meeting, he noted, was neither spontaneous nor accidental, but it did have a personal nature.

M.S. Gorbachev: This is actually good.

Ch. Aytmatov: All who are here have worked for a long time now in the sphere of literature, art, and humanitarian sciences, and have met on many occasions, both at forums and congresses and privately. We managed to exchange letters and speak on the telephone, and decided to assemble in our country, at Issyk-kul. I cannot even begin to list the topics we touched upon.

All participants spoke without any restrictions at all, without even any rules of procedure. Famous futurologist Alvin Toffler, for example, had an opportunity to speak for 1 and 1/2 hours, and we listened to him with great attention. Many of the subjects are generally known, and modern social thinking is focused on them. We all held our own specific positions. This does not mean that we wanted to set them in opposition to generally known truths. We deepened and clarified various aspects, and sought forms to influence public opinion. As a result, the participants in our meeting drew the conclusion that on an unofficial basis we can have something that is constantly active, and we unanimously gave it the name "Issyk-kul Forum." Systematic correspondence will be one of the forms of our future contacts. it could include discussions on the activity of each one of us and on social questions, and could be made available to the press, especially in the countries where the letter writers live.

M.S., We touched upon a whole range of important problems. We are definitely in favor of the prevention of wars and of cooperation, primarily in the humanitarian sphere. Modern literature, art, and philosophy can exert a useful influence in this regard.

We are also completely willing and ready to support modern political leaders in their quest for accord, especially when backing by the intelligentsia in different countries is necessary. I must say that the figures of literature and art and the scientists present here are widely known persons, and our contemporaries heard their voices.

As you can see, this is a constellation of extremely solid names, of serious people, and this was confirmed by our discussions over several days. We attempted to record them, and I believe that the result will be a large instructive book, which can be generally described as a quest for a new style of thinking under the contemporary historical conditions.

M.S. Gorbachev: I also advocate new thinking. Therefore, maybe I could also join your club? (Laughter) Speaking about shortages in today's civilization, there are many of them. But the greatest shortage is the shortage of new thinking.

Ch. Aytmatov: Going on from what you said, I would like to revert again to what actually brought us together. Your 15 January 1986 statement was one of the reasons. Your ideas became one of the incentives for us all to assemble. We are fully determined to serve the common cause and to dedicate to this purpose our entire experience of life, everything that is within our power as cultural figures.

During our last discussion, Federico Mayor proposed, and subsequently signed on our behalf, a telegram addressed to you. Today's meeting is the result of that telegram. Mr Mayor would like to comment on it.

Today, Federico Mayor noted, people often feel despair because inequality between the most diverse strata exists in the world and the shadow of despair and disappointment hangs over it. As our forum's statement says, new ideas must penetrate all spheres, including politics.

The "Issyk-kul Forum" appeals to everyone, and in particular to scientists, to join in our striving and to participate in joint efforts that could help to improve the present situation and could act as factors furthering the prevention of undesirable world developments and impending catastrophe.

New problems cannot be solved by obsolete methods. The old constitutes too heavy a burden. How to adapt to new realities? I would like to repeat that the past is like a car's rearview mirror. People look in it only to determine the correct course ahead. Very often we leave aside the facts of real life and prefer to remain inside our "ivory towers." We must recognize the new realities and facts and, at the same time, be in a position to forecast the future.

We are very pleased that the forum was held in your country. We recall with great emotion the places we visited in Kirghizia, where we saw and learned much. Being among people is the only way to learn about their real hopes and become familiar with their material and spiritual values. The main asset is to be found in man himself, each and every one has a creative potential and it must be freely developed and expressed.

Our objectives and main ideas are summed up in the "Issyk-kul Forum" declaration. We also elaborated several initiatives at this meeting. In particular, we would like to expand our group and disseminate our publications, to establish contacts with international, public, and nongovernmental organizations. Any proposal in this respect will be readily examined.

As you said at the beginning, it is not words but actions that are needed. This is our main task today.

At the end of our forum, I was given the honor of sending you a telegram on behalf of my colleagues and asking to meet you in order to express our views. We were confident, Mr General Secretary, that you would respond to our suggestion favorably. Your reply was quick and favorable. Your kind attitude toward the forum encourages our activity and will give it the boost it needs.

The "Issyk-kul Forum" also sent a letter to President Reagan. Each one of us will try to disseminate the Issyk-kul declaration as widely as possible in our countries, so that its ideas may reach the highest governmental institutions. On the threshold of a new era in the world, we are aware that much depends on the actions of those who bear the greatest responsibility on their shoulders. But it is also the duty of each and every one of us to live up to his work and concerns.

M.S., we hope that life will continue in conditions of peace, freedom, and justice, and that wars and other methods of destruction will disappear. We will do everything to avert the existing threat. The "Issyk-kul Forum" emphasized in particular the imperative need for radical changes in the education system in order to narrow the gap existing between the level of knowledge and real life. It is necessary to master the situation, and maybe even to forecast its possible development.

I want to thank you with all my heart. I wish you, the Soviet Union, and the entire Soviet people every success.

We feel at home here, and we are very proud of what we have managed to achieve. These days abounded with important events and discussions.

M.S. Gorbachev: That was a very interesting report.

Heidi Toffler said that, during an equestrian event in Kirghizia, she was particularly struck by a competition in which a man tries to catch a girl. If he fails to catch her, the girl lashes him with a whip on his way back. This is a very strange, but also a very instructive custom. Maybe it ought to be more widespread, she concluded to the accompaniment of general laughter.

M.S. Gorbachev: Let us try to apply this metaphor to politics: If we were to prove incapable of keeping pace with the ideas of peace, progress, and justice, we would deserve to be properly whipped.

I mentioned this episode only as an analogy, H. Toffler went on. The television programs that my husband and I make end on approximately the following lines: "We are at the starting point of great future contests. Some enjoy advantages, others suffer from various shortcomings. But the important point is that there be neither victors nor vanquished in these competitions for the right to a future. We must all reach the finishing line together."

We believe that our duty and responsibility consist of making the future of the whole of mankind more humane and more democratic than in any previously existing civilization.

Alexander King said that he first visited the Soviet Union in 1933, and has returned on numerous occasions since. He particularly remembers that first visit, when he was struck by the new developments in the country's life. Never before, however, has he encountered such sincerity and openness as on this visit.

I would like to say, A. King remarked, that many people in the world think about the future. It is very important that nongovernmental organizations should be capable of showing understanding for the problem facing governments. My experience shows that many top political leaders (and I have much experience of meetings at presidential and prime ministerial level) really understand the present difficulties and are ready to make changes, but they find this difficult to do through the power of the bureaucracy which they head and which works under them.

The creative ability of which the "Issyk-kul Forum" declaration speaks is the basis for the new approach to which we are now committed, and we are convinced that a new thinking has emerged in the world and its shoots are appearing now here, now somewhere else. And today's view of the future is not the same as before.

This thinking affects many spheres, from physical sciences to biology, but hitherto it has failed to penetrate public thinking. And it can produce very much there. Our group's task is to ensure that such an assimilation of ideas occurs with your help, with the help of your colleagues heading the government. We highly value your openness and the fact that you invited us here.

Arthur Miller expressed heartfelt thanks for the hospitality and said: I am a playwright, I work alone, and if I were to personally express by ideas they would be reflected through my art. It is, however, very important for us to be able to speak directly to one another. There are ideas which must be transmitted from man to man.

A. Miller believes that it is necessary to overcome the view according to which the fundamental function of governments is to be the center of all power. I think, he said, that your new approaches and the openenss [otkrytost] you now display in your country are very promising.

You know that a poet's work is to voice the truth. He must speak from the bottom of his heart, and this demands a display of tolerance on the part of the authorities. Not only poets, but anyone in general who has any worthwhile ideas must have an opportunity to make public something new. I do not speak of any specific country. There are orthodox people all over the world, and they all defend one another. If we want to develop, we must have the courage to cast off anything that is no longer true and to recognize the truth. Because reality has no favorities.

M.S. Gorbachev: The subject of reality is my favorite subject....

Alvin Toffler devoted a large part of his statement to problems of information. Hitherto, he noted, many of us artists and writers demanded freedom of information proceeding from political and philosophical considerations. Today we have one more, very powerful argument: No economic reform in any single one of our countries is possible without policy changes as regards information. The necessity for freedom of transmission of information is a direct economic requirement, because the new economy is actually based to a considerable extent on the use of information technology.

M.S. Gorbachev: I think that people are most important. When I see technological breakthroughs accompanied by vast human losses, not just spiritual losses but also losses that result in man as such being excluded from both political and social processes, let alone the economic process, I think that such a system must be considered as very dubious at least.

So now, in my opinion, it is very important to combine scientific and technical progress with the interests of the human community in such a way that the human factor is not diluted, that the individual and his dignity are not degraded and oppressed but, on the contrary, that man indeed feels increasingly that he is a creator, a genuinely active creator, because he -- the source of this advance -- is the greatest creation of nature.

While in Britain in 1984, I visited a major motor vehicle concern. I visited it at a stage when, having fundamentally restructured production, they had adopted new technologies and embarked on the production of new car models. I was greatly impressed by the technology and the car models, but I asked for a frank reply to the question: What happened to those people who worked there prior to modernization? It appeared that almost one-half of them found themselves without a job. Here is a problem that deserves to be tackled fundamentally so as to ensure that the human individual is not devalued as a result of technological explosions and breakthroughs. No one can raise this subject more forcefully than you. If your stance is different, then you deny your own selves.

Alvin Toffler described how he and his wife worked for 5 years on a car assembly line, doing manual work. They made cars and motorcycles. I do not have to be convinced that the problem of individuality and technological innovations is a fundamental problem, he emphasized. So far no solutin to this problem that goes any way toward being satisfactory has been found, but I believe that new technology also contains a promise. It eliminates the heavy work that my wife and I had to do, work more fitting for animals rather than people.

Narayan Menon spoke of that on which all participants in the Issyk-kul meeting were unanimous: The need for peace throughout the world and better life for mankind, that it is necessary to perceive the world and its problems in a realistic fashion. He touched upon the question of developing and underdeveloped countries. They represent more than one-half of the globe's population, Menon emphasized. Many live in poverty and starvation. This problem must also be examined, and it must be approached honestly and openly.

Over the last 300 years colonialism divided the world into those who worked and produced something, and those who expropriated this product and sold it at a profit for themselves. We must also speak about this stark reality, it must not be forgotten.

M.S. Gorbachev: I am very much perturbed by the problem of developing countries. And I think that I have already managed to say something on this subject. If we were to evade the solution of this problem, we would encounter surprises on a worldwide scale. I would agree that this is a "delayed action bomb."

Peter Ustinov spoke highly of the Issyk-kul meeting. It is very important to listen to another person's opinion carefully and graciously. Now, he said, our forum has been joined by one more most estimable person, who is also sitting down and listening to our talk. I know how important it is when you talk and are being heard.

I said at the start of our meeting that each one of us has two citizenships -- the one shown on one's passport and the one stemming from one's profession. And our respect for human life. Peter Ustinov devoted part of his statement to the problems of developing countries. He has worked with UNICEF and believes that now the Soviet Union could make a more substantial contribution to this organization's work. In many respects, this is a remarkable organizations, especially under today's conditions, Peter Ustinov said. There are well known personal hygiene principles; if you were to injure your finger and fail to treat the wound, your whole hand would get infected. If medical treatment were not applied, the infection would spread through the arm, up to the shoulder, and if that were also ignored the result could be death. It is obvious that now it must be brought to everyone's awareness that mankind demands from us the very same attitudes as our own body. If you live in the palm of fate you should not think that people living on its toes are far removed from you.

M.S. Yashar Kemal expressed cordial thanks to Mikhail Sergeyevich for the meeting and for everything he told the participants. The world's problems, he went on to emphasize, are very complex, and especially the nuclear danger hanging over mankind. The world is face to face with the threat of nuclear war. How can we prevent it? It is necessary to rally all people, all representatives of art and cultural and literary figures. Such an alliance against the military danger can be only organized.

The second danger facing mankind is the destruction of nature. We see that it is being damaged constantly, day in and day out. The animal world is dying, the environment is being destroyed. And this danger is no less terrifying that the danger of war.

The danger of the destruction of nature is very great. At times we cannot even imagine how great it is. It is said at times that modern technology destroys nature. I, Kemal said, cannot accuse modern technology. If we are aware that the world must be saved, this can be done only by modern technology. But, in saving our life, in saving our world, it simultaneously destroys them.

In his view, there is another problem that is important for mankind. Education systems have existed for almost 2,000 years and with their aid people have reached the point of killing each other, and creating the latest means of destruction. Everything in the world changes, but the education system does not change. These problems must be solved, both by governments and independently of them.

Lisandro Otero noted that the most interesting aspect of the Issyk-kul meeting was the variety of different opinions expressed both on political level and from the viewpoint of ethics and religion. We, he said, are all people holding very different views, and this is naturally reflected in our positions. Despite all the differences, however, we reached a unanimous opinion, common positions, and a single goal that we must pursue. And this is the main point.

M.S. Gorbachev: Your idea is very correct. Indeed, different people occupied places around the "round table," but you were all interested, you have emerged richer from this meeting, and I think you have gained a better understanding and perception, a "second wind" so to speak. I want to take advantage of this right away . Take the world as a whole -- we are all different. Is this a shortcoming? It is reality. Therefore, it is necessary to learn to live in this diversity, to respect each people's choice. It is said that the sun cannot be shut off and the people cannot be led astray. This is also a serious thought and worthy of pondering.

Should we shoot at one another just because we are different? We must take advantage of this and extract innovations from this diversity, enrich each other.

We have reached a major agreement, Lisandro Otero responded to these words, and we have a common purpose of action. We have agreed to act jointly. Abandon everything that divides us now. The world is living through many difficulties and complex problems, it is divided by various antagonisms. Take just the vast quantity of nuclear weapons that has been stockpiled. This is why the participants in the meeting are filled with a desire to make their contribution to the solution of problems and have agreed on fundamental points. This generates hope that we will be able to help in saving our planet. We can and must influence people so that peace and harmony may exist forever.

Omer Livanelli stressed that one of the most important problems is the relationship between creative intelligentsia and leaders. We know from books, he said, that in olden times some rulers needed poets. In our age, however, we are at times witnessing a break in ties and interrelationships between governments and artistic intelligentsia. One of the Nazi ringleaders declared that his hand reached for his gun whenever he heard the word "culture." And today, Livanelli went on, writers and poets want to tackle serious problems. They want their works to reflect our vision of the future, our dreams. We are in a country that is the motherland of great cultural figures. This is a great good fortune for us and a great opportunity to see the cultural riches in the Land of the Soviets -- we are grateful for this.

Augusto Forti touched upon a question that is important for him as a scientist. In our work, he said, we discuss various points of view and then must reach a consensus. It is necessary to find what is common for all, and this is the only way science can advance. If this is not achieved, there can be no progress in science. This is what happened with Newton's Law, which has remained for us a law for many centuries and, maybe, this could be applied to the new science that is only just emerging. The meeting Aytmatov organized provided a major boost. We perceived in this a new dialogue on the main issues. And if this is true for us, it must also be true for society. Only thus could it achieve progress. Addressing M.S. Gorbachev, A. Forti said that a vast potential for advancement exists in the land of the Soviets. You have remarkable scientists and remarkable writers, he went on. Your country and you personally could give the world ideas of enormous importance.

M.S. Gorbachev: Thank you for your faith in our potential. We also have faith.

James Baldwin joined the conversation. He said that he would like to add to what Mr Menon said about the "Third World." There are many people on the globe, some live in the "civilized world" while others are spoken of as the "Third World," with a certain derogatory meaning attached to this expression. Our objective is to include in society all who are excluded from it. So many people live in ghettos or are actually in jail, as if there were no other place for them on earth. [paragraph continues]

And all this because some people who are in power consider them useless and superfluous for society. This is a global problem. It must be approached very carefully, because the habits of old-fashioned thinking also play a great role here. The powers that be have their own views, which differ from the views of those lower down the scale. But they are also people. The must be included in the circle of our concerns and our thinking.

Afework Tekle said that, as a painter, he always tries to express whatever he feels, with the help of brush and canvas. Here, however, he would like to share some thoughts that came to him during the last few days of his stay in the land of the Soviets.

I live, he went on, on a continent that has many problems. This also applies to Ethiopia. And other countries too have problems demanding new solutions. When I returned home from Europe, I had to forget much of what I was taught there. This was because a painter in our country cannot live in an "ivory tower" but must share his talent and his creative potential with his people. That is, with those with whom he lives in a single society, hoping that he may be able to help them solve their day-to-day problems.

M.S. Gorbachev: Both you and Mr Mayor said that an artist, a genuine artist, cannot live in an "ivory tower." Recently we marked -- and I take advantage of this occasion to thank UNESCO -- the 800th anniversary of "The Lay of Igor's Campaign." For 800 years now the 7 and 1/2 pages of this ode have been arousing people's emotions. And not just in our country, either. At the end of the festive meeting attended by a large group of writers, I told them in the course of a conversation: "Do you know what lesson must be learned from today's soiree and the 800th anniversary of 'The Lay of Igor's Campaign?' It is necessary to write about what constitutes the people's destiny. This is what we expect from you. As regards the genre you may choose and the style you may use -- that is up to you. I have, I said, no other requests to make of you." The idea that an artist cannot live in an "ivory tower" is not only correct, it is also very topical.

A. Tekle agreed with M.S. Gorbachev. When I return home, he went on, I will engage in creative activity and at the same time -- as an African and an intellectual -- I will tackle the problems of my own country and the global problems of a universal nature, because I constantly reflect on man and the world.

On receiving Aytmatov's invitation to come to Issyk-kul, my first thought was: What could I do, what contribution could I make to this matter and especially to the solution of the problems that will confront us in the next millennium. But thanks to the atmosphere created for us, we were able to fully express our thoughts. While on the banks of Issyk-kul and in Frunze, I became aware for the first time that everything I have to do must be imbued with thoughts about the Universe and not just about some tiny corner of the planet. I, Tekle went on, was happy to learn that many of the colleagues I had an opportunity to meet in Issyk-kul share some of my ideas. I saw not just the beauty of the landscape and the mountains, but also the beauty of the soul of thinking people who have undertaken the obligation to solve the problems of the 21st century with hope and sincere desire to find new approaches toward them. As an artist, at times I felt alone, but the Issyk-kul meeting led me to the new thinking, and I am fully determined, on my return to my country, to Africa, to be even more useful to society and to be even more active.

The organization of this forum, Tekle said, gave me further proof that leaders like M.S. Gorbachev have made it possible to impart to a good idea a specific form that is instructive for the future. I think that it is very important for leaders to trust creative workers. This always makes it possible to find positive solutions.

I leave the Soviet Union, a great country where truly creative people live and where artists are awarded great honors, with a feeling of happiness and confidence. Many problems and calamities have befallen Africa, and Ethiopia in particular. And when I return home I will tell my colleagues in Ethiopia and throughout Africa about the Issyk-kul meeting, about that fact that an artists's role is not just to create works of art but also to use his social activity to inspire people with hope in a radiant future.

M.S. Gorbachev: I see that you have pondered and discussed much in these few days, and I congratulate you. Yes, you have also given me much food for thought.

Since it seems that no one else wishes to speak, I would also like to express my attitude toward what happened in Issyk-kul. It seems to me that it was only a beginning that will have a continuation. And you can count not only on our sympathy but also on our support.

As I understand it, you are satisfied with your meeting. Arthur Miller said here that he is used to living alone and doing his creative work alone, even though this work is, of course, intended for people. He admits that he had doubts whether anything would come out of this Issyk-kul meeting, whether it would be worth making such a long trip. Now I see that neither Mr Miller nor anyone else among you feels sorry for having traveled to the meeting. It seems to me that this is a gain not just for you but also for people in the various countries you represent.

I personally am on your side. You are making great efforts. I acclaim them. As regards our conversation today, I would say that, the way I see it, we were brought together not just by an ordinary mutual human curiosity. After all -- and there is nothing reprehensible about this either -- not all of us are philosophers; first and foremost we are people.

I think that the desire to meet, both on my part and on yours, was dictated by common concerns and worries, by reflections regarding the world in which we live and this world's future. In my view, the advantage of the "Issyk-kul Forum" is contained in the fact that it brought together people who differ not only in their professions but also in their views of the world. As if in a microcosm, the forum displayed the possibility of reaching agreement and finding accord on a pan-human scale.

Not so long ago I met a large group of scientists who had assembled here in Moscow and discussed problems perturbing today's world. They included many famous names, people known all over the world, Nobel prize winners. I told them (and this was published) that politics needs scientific arguments. Politics can give the necessary answers to problems provided it proceeds from scientific analysis and is free from vacillation, from voluntarism and improvisation.

Today I can say with even greater conviction that politics must draw on everything that is contained in the intellectual wealth of every nation and of the entire human civilization. Our intelligentsia (in this case I am taking about the community of Soviet peoples) has always had man as the primary object of its constant research, concern, and deliberations. Politics that are not nurtured on deliberations about human destiny are bad, amoral politics and deserve no respect.

Hence I share the idea expressed in your statements, the idea regarding the need for a natural link, I would say the reciprocal necessity for politicians and representatives of modern culture to be in contact, to meet, and to support each other through constant exchange of opinions. I think that both sides can only be enriched as a result.

After all, I believe that you are unlikely to deny that, just as achievements and gains in politics have been accompanied by great losses, delusions, and errors -- and even some fateful ones, art also has scored enormous achievements and suffered numerous losses. Especially when either art or its individual trends and representatives have detached themselves from real life or, even worse, merely adopted a pose as regards the vitally important problems of people's life.

I would like to express a polemical thought. I invite you to recall how matters stood in the past, and even in recent history. Mankind has always had sufficient reason, courage, and conscience to investigate the causes of various misfortunes. Unfortunately, however, and as a rule, this happened only after the damage had been done. What would the world have been like had people been capable of promptly diverting misfortune whenever it appeared on the threshold?

This is why I acclaim the "Issyk-kul Forum" and perceive it as yet another intellectual attempt to give a lead to the best forces of all peoples and nations, to understand the modern world, and to express an opinion on its future in order to prevent calamities that may befall all of us.

The advantage of your meeting is contained in the fact that very different people took part in it. Nevertheless, they did manage to rise above that which divides them and to reach common agreement on the main question -- the responsibility of each and every one for mankind's future. And this is a lesson for others. In all likelihood, those present are familiar with statements made on these questions at our party congress. There we also tried not only to examine our own problems but also to look at the world as a whole, at the interconnected and interdependent world that' contradictory though it may be, is still in one piece. And we drew this idea from Lenin. It is probably no news to you that I read and re-read Lenin. This will be no great revelation to you.

What will happen if we fail to avert the nuclear threat hanging over our pan-human home? Were this to happen, there would no longer be any opportunity to correct mistakes. Now we really are at a critical state of history, when it is obvious that the fatal danger can be eliminated only through joint efforts.

In his time V.I. Lenin expressed an immensely profound idea: It concerned the fact that the interests of social development and pan-human values take priority over the interests of any particular class. Today, in the nuclear missile age, the significance of this idea can be felt particularly keenly. It is much to be desired that the thesis of the priority of the world's pan-human values over all others to which different people may be committed be also unmderstood and accepted in the other part of the world.

It is necessary to speak out at the top of our voices about the worries of our age, to seek together the necessary solutions for the sake of the peaceful present and future, and to awaken each and every one's conscience and responsibility for the fate of peace. It is necessary to preserve civilization -- despite all its difficulties and contradictions -- for the sake of life, for the sake of man. As long as mankind survives, it will somehow tackle the contradictions.

This is why the paramount task is to preserve this world that may be unique in the entire universe. I do not counterpose the importance of the struggle against the nuclear threat to the concerns caused by ecology, the consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, and information problems.

Like you, I also share the opinion that we live in a world that is far from perfect. In any case, one cannot say that we live in a perfect world. [paragraph continues]

But I am convinced that it could be brought closer to perfection. And I do believe that intellectual potential and, as you said, scientific discoveries and technology -- everything -- can be made to serve the attainment of this goal. Before all else, however, it is incumbent upon us to save the world from the threat of nuclear destruction.

The common trepidation of people in the world with regard to the nuclear threat is what unites us all now, regardless of where we live, what ideology we follow, or what faith we confess. Let us leave this a matter of personal choice. But I do think that there is no task more important than becoming aware of reality, of the main reality of the nuclear missile age. These worries were at the focus of attention at the "Issyk-kul Forum," and they were reflected in the declaration it adopted, expressing the desire shared by all its participants to develop the forum's ideas and move forward, rallying increasingly broad circles of today's intelligentsia, the progressive intelligentsia which is concerned with the problems of today's world. In my view, this is a major matter. Every politician has his opportunities, and every representative of art has his own, no less opportunities in his own sphere.

What can cultural figures set in opposition to the forces nudging mankind toward catastrophe? Similar problems greatly perturbed Leo Tolstoy on the eve of World War I. And this is applicable to our age. That 80-year old patriarch of world literature sensed the approaching war. He said that those for whom war was profitable held in their hands money by the billion and troops by the million. The writer, however, held in his hand just a single, but powerful weapon -- the truth. And this provides sufficient ground to say: The struggle is not hopeless!

The "Issyk-kul Forum" is a great argument in confirmation of what the new thinking yields. We perceive new shoots in the political field, we perceive these shoots on the cultural front, and this is most encouraging.

Almost everyone here spoke about the fact that new thinking is necessary for acquiring a proper awareness of today's realities. On this basis, we went to Reykjavik with proposals that have never before been submitted by the Soviet Union. Even so, there was a shortage of this new thinking in Reykjavik. I posed the question there as follows: We have not come to present demands and ultimatums, but have brought along proposals, far-reaching proposals, expecting the same from the U.S. President. Much has already been said about Reykjavik. That was no failure, it does not signify hopelessness, and we moved quite far ahead. That meeting showed that it is possible to reach agreements that could mark the beginning of the liquidation of nuclear weapons. The program of new proposals submitted by the USSR does not close, but opens the door for a quest for mutually acceptable solutions. It offers a realistic opportunity to break the deadlock. But the meeting showed at the same time that we have to overcome considerable difficulties along the path to agreements.

M.S., One of the main lessons of Reykjavik is that the new political thinking corresponding with the realities of the nuclear age is an indispensable condition for overcoming the crisis situation in which mankind has found itself at the close of the 20th century. Profound changes are needed in the political thinking of the entire human community. Of course, propaganda, the interests of various groups and groupings, elections, and so on have now interfered greatly with the assimilation of Reykjavik's results in the United States. There is nothing to be done about it. But the elections will pass, the problems will remain, and thought must be given to the quest for ways to solve them.

It was very interesting for me to hear about what you saw in our country and how you found our society. We are living through an interesting stage, an interesting phase of historic development, and we want to renew all aspects of our life on a socialist basis. We are not renouncing our values -- that in which we believe, that which brought Russia to the level at which it finds itself today. Quite simply, we have discovered that we have made poor or -- to put it mildly -- inadequate use of everything our system offers for the development of the economy, the social sphere, and culture. Furthermore, we have discovered that certain distortions have occurred in our country, which are totally incompatible with socialist values. And the fact that we have now taken the path of restructuring, using publicity [glasnost] and democracy, has generated an enormous response among our people. We have felt the kind of support that has been lacking maybe for decades.

We will travel along this path. Some people in the world acclaim and share our plans with us, support our intentions and desires. Others feel somewhat scared by this. We think: What we are doing not only corresponds with Soviet people's aspirations, but also offers opportunities for the quest for new forms of cooperation and interaction with other peoples and states. Some people want to hinder us. But, you know, Russia's character is such that if it is hindered, it will show itself more powerful still! We who proposed this policy even derive inspiration from the fact that it has stung some people, that it has made them worried. This is another argument confirming that we have taken the correct path.

Great efforts will be required, and we are aware of this. Processes are proceeding painfully here and there. But just think: There are 280 million of us, more than 100 nations and ethnic groups! And we must all reconsider many things today, from a new viewpoint, from the viewpoint of the prospects offered to our society by the present policy. This is not, after all, an easy matter.

We hope to receive great help from our intelligentsia. The Soviet intelligentsia -- and this is very important -- has actively joined in the process of restructuring, and it has not only just joined in but has actually become its ardent champion. Our entire society is in motion, and this motion is gathering pace. This offers great opportunities for the solution not only of domestic tasks but also of global problems. Our potential will grow, and our contribution -- material, political, intellectual, and moral -- will also grow.

I was very glad to meet you, to get to know you, and to see you, for I had known many of you only by reputation.

I wish you, man-to-man, the greatest of happiness and, for a start, the materialization of a least part of that on which you agreed at the "Issyk-kul Forum."

Voices: Hopefully, more than that will materialize....

M.S. Gorbachev: I see that you want much. That gives me even greater pleasure. I am enormously pleased with our contact.

All the best to you. I wish you a safe journey and prosperity.

The participants in the meeting cordially thanks M.S. Gorbachev and sent him on his way with applause [provodil ego aplodismentami].

BELONOGOV URGES END TO UN STAFF REDUCTIONS

LD311315 Moscow TASS in English 1247 GMT 31 Oct 86

[Text] New York October 31 TASS -- TASS correspondent Sergey Baybakov reports:

The U.S. Committee with Relations with the Host Country, the United States, had a meeting at the United Nations to discuss the actions taken by the U.S. against the U.N. missions of the USSR, Belorussia and the Ukraine, which are at odds with the agreement between the U.N. and the U.S. The latest such action was the ultimatum of the American authorities that 25 staff members of the Soviet U.N. mission had to leave under the threat of deportation.

The debates at the committee graphically illustrated the absolute groundlessness and legal untenability of the ambitions of the U.S. to decide unilaterally, as it sees fit, the question of how many staff members should have one U.N. mission or another. [sentence as received] Delegates from Afghanistan, Belorussia, Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Mongolia, Poland, Senegal, the Ukraine and other countries were unanimous that Washington's actions constituted a flagrant violation of the U.S. obligations under international agreements and a gross encroachment on international law. They noted that the United Nations secretary general and the legal adviser of the organization had also characterized those actions as unlawful. Yet the American side declined the proposal of the U.N. secretary general on mediation in the settlement of that problem.

The committee members drew attention to the political bias of Washington's unlawful actions. They constitute a component of its overall policy of frustrating the Soviet-American dialogue. This also is illustrated by the decision taken by the U.S. Department of State the other day to reduce the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Washington and the general consulate in San Francisco, the Soviet Union's permanent representative to the United Nations, Aleksandr Belonogov, said. There is one more aspect to this political action of the USA: It is directed against the United Nations itself. The U.S. Administration makes it clear that the United States is ready to take repressive measures against any state whose policy is not to Washington's liking, against those countries which are pursuing independent policies in spite of American pressure.

The U.S. unlawful actions must be strongly denounced and repulsed, the Soviet delegate said. The United States should stop its unlawful actions and ensure proper conditions for the normal activity of the United Nations and the U.N. missions of all the states. We hope that the committee on relations with the host country will take measures to put an end to the arbitary actions against the Soviet U.N. mission. The result of coercive measures taken by the United States against the Soviet diplomatic missions is well known. One would like to hope that the American side has learned the lesson and drawn proper conclusions. As for us, we would like the line to be drawn under any attempt to pursue a policy from strength towards the Soviet U.S. mission. This policy has not paid back now and will never pay back, the Soviet delegate stressed.

REACAN SENDS CONGRATULATIONS ON GOSR JUBILEE

LD070039 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] President Reagan, on behalf of the American people, has congratulated the Soviet people on their national holiday. His message to Andrey Gromyko says that the Americans are eager to start tackling major problems of our time, how to lessen the risk of war, improve the life of our peoples, help restore peace to trouble spots round the world, and expand ties between the governments and citizens.

CHERNYSHEV VIEWS SDI IN LIGHT OF U.S. ELECTIONS

LD061521 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS -- By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

Speaking before senior White House staff after midterm elections in the United States, President Ronald Reagan has said with feigned optimism: "Overall, yesterday's election brought fairly good news, although we (Republicans) lost the Senate."

The remark makes one recall the once popular song "Everything Is in Perfect Order, Your Ladyship".

The President also spoke of his resolve to stick to his former course, most notably "positions-of-strength" policy, reiterating his slogan "Peace through strength".

"The bridge to real arms reduction and a just peace rests on two girders: military preparedness and the pursuit of advanced technologies like SDI," he claimed, without reckoning with facts or elementary logic.

But facts are not easy to ignore, while the laws of logic are not determined by the imperial thinking of these or other quarters.

Fact one. Ronald Reagan has himself made the elections a referendum on his policies, first of all on SDI. But the voters have shown no desire to accept this program as a panacea for all America's troubles as they see it as well as other military programs as adding to the gravity of not only external but also domestic problems of their country.

It is these programs that are responsible for the deficit of many billions of dollars and a federal debt of one trillion dollars and have adverse effects on the social and economic situation in the United States.

The country's militarization and the diversion of huge funds and resources to arms development and manufacture have impaired the standards of basic and applied research in civilian sectors and hence also the competitive position of American goods in world markets.

Washington has begun losing the lead in the economic field it has enjoyed among its allies.

It is an open secret that the sum total of the U.S. federal debt is roughly equal to the enormous funds spent by the Reagan administration over its tenure on arms.

Fact two. The Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Reykjavik has made it most plain to all nations that SDI is a nuclear-laser mine rather than a girder under the bridge to real arms reduction and peace.

All Washingtonian tales that "SDI has forced the Soviet Union to negotiate and make concessions" can now only be believed by those who have not been able to come of age in politics.

By contrast, the Soviet initiatives, said Senator Dale Bumpers, had created a new sentiment in the United States and touched off demands to reverse the nuclear juggernaut.

It is not the long-bankrupt U.S. "positions-of-strength" policy but the firm line taken by the Soviet leadership which has said a resolute "no" to the U.S. Administration's attempts to stage a joint funeral for the ABM treaty that has been the barrier to White House plans to bless a runaway arms race in all areas.

Fact three. People in the world, including the United States, have grown tired of twisted-logic claims that the route to disarmament lies through a buildup of newest and ever more deadly arms.

It is impossible to make such claims appear more reasonable even by replacing the word "arms" by "technology", as is the U.S. President's fond habit.

The U.S. Administration's position shaped by the chase of the will-o'-the-wisp of superiority, THE NEW YORK TIMES said, was provocative and damaging to America itself since it tended to fuel the arms race whose cost and danger were only comparable to its futility.

The lessons of history teach that supermanhood autohypnosis, which is an ailment Washington suffers, has always produced lamentable results.

The talking that the Russians must be dealt with from strength is nothing other than a dangerous mania.

New political thinking, without which no-one, not even the new-minted "supermen", can survive in the nuclear and space age, stresses the fundamental law of the times as the strength of policy rather than policy based on strength.

The Democrats' leader in the Senate, Robert Byrd, said: "The President is the one who made this a referendum on his policies and he did not get the mandate that he was seeking. This ought to be a message to him."

An extremely important and serious message has been delivered to the U.S. President in Reykjavik. Now another one comes from U.S. voters.

PRAVDA REBUTS ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS FOR SDI

PM061243 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 86 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences, Professor G. Tsagolov under the rubric "The Echo of Reykjavik": "SDI: The Great Social Swindle"]

[Text] Every day on U.S. television you can see U.S. space devices using laser beams to destroy Soviet missiles supposedly invading U.S. skies. Another burst in the propaganda campaign in favor of SDI is under way. Having exhausted the military-political "arguments," whose flimsy and dangerous nature has become particularly obvious since Reykjavik, the advocates of space militarism have lately been trying to advertise another aspect of the White House's favorite brainchild, namely its social aspect. Efforts are being made to convince the ordinary American, who is not very well versed in the finer points of politics and strategy, that SDI will bring him economic prosperity, do away with unemployment, and so on and so forth.

General J. Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defense Initiative organization, stated in Congress recently tht the gain which can be expected from SDI will be significant in "all sectors of our economy." He is echoed by Congressman K. Kramer. U.S. President R. Reagan is not loath either to hold forth on this theme.

The U.S. press is full of claims that SDI, while protecting the "free world" against the "Soviet nuclear threat," will also be a powerful driving force for scientific and technical progress which will enable U.S. society to accomplish a qualitative leap into the 21st century ahead of time. It is being claimed that the creation of the notorious "space shield" will provide an extraordinary boost to the entire economy, guarantee long-term prosperity, and generously provide civilian sectors with technological innovations. During a recent visit to the United States the author of this article was frequently involved in polemics on this subject at editorial offices, scientific centers, and universities and during meetings with representatives of U.S. business circles.

The ideas of the "beneficial" role of militarist measures are by no means new. They were championed on the eve of World War II by one of the pillars of bourgeois economic science P. [as published] Keynes, who wrote that "evil could breed good... if the United States decided to channel its resources into arms production."

The subsequent decades have shown that the most that military injections can do is to provide a temporary boost resulting in a shortlived upturn in a number of economic sectors. However, the parasitical nature of military expenditure is inevitably revealed with the passage of time because, as K. Marx once noted, military expenditure "in purely economic terms is tantamount to a nation throwing part of its capital overboard."

The SDI program makes the bankruptcy of the ideas advocating "prosperity through armament" more obvious than ever. The present militarism is hitting working people's living standards and working class socioeconomic gains particularly hard.

Where are the trillions of dollars for SDI to come from? Primarily out of the pockets of ordinary Americans. Taxes are bound to rise. The U.S. state debt, already 2 trillion dollars, will also increase. This will place a heavy burden on several generations of Americans, who will be forced to pay for Washington's present military adventures.

While satisfying the appetites of the military-industrial monopolies and the Pentagon without a murmur, the administration is trying to curb the record growth in the budget deficit by cutting back expenditure for education, health care, and other social needs. SDI will, without any doubt, lead to another offensive against the social programs that even today resemble a shrinking shagreen skin. Certain U.S. economists are afraid -- with good reason -- that SDI will produce a new wave of inflation, sharp price rises, and consequently a decrease in U.S. working people's real incomes.

Can SDI somehow alleviate mass unemployment? Promises claiming that it can are a deliberate deception. It has been proved that the same amount of capital invested in the military sector creates only about one-third of the jobs it would create in the civilian sector. Meanwhile the SDI program, even compared with other militarist programs, requires unnaturally high expenditure for scientific research and design, development, and testing work.

The Hughes Aircraft aerospace complex in California, where spy satellites are made and SDI research is being conducted, employs only 8,000 people of whom 7,700 are engaged in laboratory research. And only 300 people work on the "shop floor." By siphoning off the best scientists and engineers into military research and development, SDI will contribute to a deceleration of the growth rate in civilian economic sectors which will, in turn, further swell the army of the unemployed.

Thus, "Star Wars," rather than easing the working people's position, will make it more difficult. It will only serve to enrich General Dynamics, McDonnell-Douglas, Rockwell International, Boeing, and other aerospace concerns and also a certain section of engineers and military specialists.

The gulf between military and civilian work is now so great that the creation of new consumer goods on the basis of SDI developments is not very likely. Most modern military technology is far removed from the civilian needs of the mass consumer market. And even if SDI does produce some spin-off from the nonmilitary sectors, it will still have cost several times more than direct investment in civilian spheres.

Describing the pernicious socioeconomic effects of militarism, U.S. scientist L. Dumas writes: "We are basing our actions on the false premise that the development of increasingly complex weapon systems ensures our national security. We must stop the construction of all the systems that the Pentagon and its suppliers are thirsting for. We must show political will and substantially reduce the burden of militarism. This is the only way to return the nation to genuine prosperity and security."

The debate about SDI is widening constantly in the West. However, no matter what propaganda tricks and hypocritical promises of social prosperity its advocates resort to, more and more Americans are becoming aware that the "Star Wars" program is the main obstacle in the way of eliminating nuclear missile arms and achieving lasting peace and consequently can only serve to undermine any kind of prosperity. This has become particularly clear since the meeting in Reykjavik.

PRAVDA ON 'HYPOCRISY' OF U.S. RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

PM051033 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 86 First Edition p 4

[N. Bragin "Rejoinder": "Washington Duplicity"]

[Text] Speeches by U.S. Administration leaders on the human rights theme have become more frequent recently. The theme is not new. But the fact that they have been harping on about it is a sure sign that Washington has something to "hide," something to divert attention from.

At present, of course, this applies primarily to the administration's unseemly game concerning the Reykjavik meeting, which revealed the groundlessness of the arguments in defense of SDI, which has brought the cause of nuclear disarmament to a standstill. Consequently, the administration is trying to divert close public scrutiny from all that by expatiating with equal persistence and hypocrisy about "human rights."

Listening to U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz, for example, it turns out that everything hinges on that theme. The other day he found it necessary to state: "Unless the Soviet Union makes tangible progress in the most important sphere of human rights, movement forward on other aspects of Soviet-U.S. relations will inevitably be slowed down." What exactly does the secretary of state want to "slow down"? He makes no secret of that: the solution of the problems of war and peace. According to his logic, because the "Soviet regime violates human rights," arms control agreements with it "cannot really reliably and effectively guarantee international security." There you have it: Blame it all on the Soviets!

This is a well known method. It is designed to absolve Washington of responsibility for the fact that, because of its dangerous SDI venture, a real opportunity of achieving a 50 percent reduction in strategic arms in the next 5 years and of ridding Europe of medium-range missiles has been missed. However, the Washington administration's duplicity on such an important question is so obvious that it can only deceive simpletons.

In the human rights sphere Washington's boot is pinching increasingly hard. Some U.S. citizens have been asking for political asylum in the USSR. And some former Soviet citizens, lured into going to the United States at one time by Zionist and U.S. propaganda centers, are returning home. Tens of millions of people in "free" America have no rights. More than 8 million of them have been deprived of such an elementary human right as the right to work. And look at how many homeless, illiterate, and hungry people they have over there! Even the bourgeois press on both sides of the Atlantic increasingly often feel compelled to write about these U.S. "achievements" in the "human rights" sphere. As for political prisoners in U.S. jails, there are many thousands of them, including L. Peltier, the courageous fighter for Indian rights. And of course, the White House and the State Department would also like to cover this up with laments about human rights "violations" outside America.

This is a truly immoral stance. Is it not immoral for U.S. leaders to dilate on human rights when they still refuse to ratify the basic international pacts on human rights?!

TASS ANALYST CRITICIZES U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD

LD051114 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT 5 Nov 86

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS -- TASS Political News Analyst Sergey Kulik writes:

The United Nations is marking these days a major event -- the 20th anniversary of the international covenants on human rights, which were drafted on the initiative of the Soviet Union. American propaganda is "marking" the data its own, traditional way. Though the United States did not put its signature to these covenants, thereby showing its complete disregard for human rights, the Washington-orchestrated mass misinformation media are intensively trying to present the United States as the main proponent of human rights.

This contrivance is not at all new. The Reagan Administration resorts to it every time the White House seeks to "cover up" its own sins, to divert the attention of the international public from Washington's foreign policy actions which are at variance with the norms of human rights.

Nowdays, these are, above all, the U.S. Administration's unseemly maneuvering around the Reykjavik meeting, the U.S. Union in the capital of Iceland: to start jointly advancing to nuclear disarmament. The White House, standing up for Star Wars plans, stepping on the path of militarisation of outer space, is pushing mankind to a nuclear catastrophe, thereby calling in questions its future. And the right to live is the most essential of human rights!

Those who have on their conscience a long list of criminal ventures from Vietnam to Grenada, should better not breathe a word of human rights. Isn't the notorious "doctrine of neoglobalism", the creation of the U.S. Administration, now sowing death with American arms in Angola and Nicaragua, in Lebanon, Afghanistan and Kampuchea? And isn't it the Reagan policy of "constructive engagement" with the Republic of South Africa that is propping up the most bloody and repressive regime of the present -- the apartheid regime?

Washington's refusal to comply with the international court's ruling and stop the aggression against Nicaragua is the latest example, showing that the White House's propaganda assurances of its allegiance to the cause of "defending human rights" are at variance with the U.S. actions in that sphere. Stubbornly furthering the thesis that the United States is destined by God to play the role of the gendarme of Central America, denying the Nicaraguan people the right to live in freedom and peace, the right to decide their future themselves, Washington is seeking to put itself above international law, to assert in the world its "law of the jungles".

What can one expect in the sphere of defending human rights from the U.S. Administration, which does not sign and does not ratify international laws in that area, which considers gross interference in other states' affairs as the standard of its foreign policy, which does not heed the demands of the world community?...

Cynical and immoral are the protestations made by representatives of the U.S. Administration on its allegiance to the principles of humanism.

BEIJING MARKS SOVIET OCTOBER REVOLUTION DAY

OW052115 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 5 Nov 86

[Text] The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries [CPAFC] and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association held a reception in Beijing Marking the 69th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. Present at the reception were Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, Vice Presidents of the CPAFC Lin Qing and Liu Gengyin, Vice President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association Shi Ziming, Soviet Ambassador to China Troyanovskiy, and Mrs Troyanovskiy. In their toasts, both Shi Ziming and Troyanovskiy stood for development of friendship between the Chinese people and the Soviet people.

NEW BILATERAL COOPERATION WITH PRC PANEL MEETS

PM061055 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 45, No 86 (Signed to Press 30 Oct 86) p 15

[TASS report under the rubric "Foreign Economic Ties": "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] A PRC delegation was in our country 12-23 October to take part in the first session of the Standing Subcommission on USSR-PRC Scientific and Technical Cooperation. The session adopted decisions aimed at developing scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries. The delegation also visited scientific research organizations and industrial enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, and Novosibirsk.

BEIJING HOSTS INTERNATIONAL ARMS EXHIBITION

PM061611 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 86 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Arms Exhibition"]

[Text] Beijing, 4 Nov -- An international exhibition of arms and military technology was opened at Beijing's largest exhibition center. Along with the PRC firms from a number of capitalist countries, particularly Britain, Canada, Italy, the United States, the FRG, and Spain, are participating in it. This is the largest such exhibition ever to be held on PRC territory. For the first time products of the Chinese military industry are fully represented at the exhibition.

The exhibition opening ceremony was attended by PRC Defense Minister Zhang Aiping.

CHINESE BALLET TROUPE ENDS RUSSIAN VISIT

OLW050325 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 4 Nov 86

[Text] The Chinese Central Ballet Troupe has concluded its performances in the Soviet Union. From 19 October to 3 November, The Chinese performers gave eight performances in Moscow and Leningrad. They performed the Chinese ballet, the Red Detachment of Women, and selected portions of classical ballet. Chinese and Soviet performers also took part in get-togethers to discuss ballet creation. Soviet audiences warmly welcomed the Chinese Central Ballet Troupe.

MOSCOW, BUDAPEST MARK 1956 HUNGARIAN EVENTS

PM061343 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 86 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Hungary Marks Anniversary"]

[Text] Budapest, 4 Nov -- The Hungarian people are marking the 30th anniversary of the defense of their socialist gains during the counterrevolutionary mutiny of 1956.

The ceremonial session in Szolnok addressed by J. Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, was devoted to the 30th anniversary of the creation of the Hungarian revolutionary workers and peasants government. The session was attended by the country's party and state leaders, veterans of the Hungarian workers movement, and representatives of mass and social organizations.

The revolutionary center headed by J. Kadar which was created 30 years ago succeeded in rallying the country's patriotic forces and repulsing the counterrevolution's schemes, relying on international cohesion and assistance from the international communist movement and the socialist countries -- first and foremost the Soviet Union.

A press conference was held 4 November at the Hungarian Embassy in the Soviet Union on the 30th anniversary of the creation of Hungary's revolutionary workers and peasants government. On behalf of the Hungarian people S. Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the USSR, who addressed those present, expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for the international assistance it provided in surpressing the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Hungary in 1956. The decades since the victory over the forces of reaction, S. Rajnai stressed, have been marked by major achievements by Hungarian working people in socialist building. The guarantee of the Hungarian people's future successes in socioeconomic development, the ambassador noted, lies in further strengthening the friendship and improving the all-around cooperation between Hungary and the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries.

PRAVDA REPORTS OPENING OF AWP CONGRESS

PM051657 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Opening of Albanian Workers Party Congress"]

[Text] Tirana, 3 Nov -- The Ninth AWP Congress began here today. As ATA reports, representatives of party organizations in all districts of the country as well as foreign guests are taking part in it.

The congress will discuss the AWP Central Committee report and a report on directives regarding the Eighth 5-Year Plan for the development of Albania's economy and culture in 1986-90 and will elect the party's leading organs.

After the acceptance of the congress agenda and standing orders, a report entitled "On the AWP Central Committee's Activity and Forthcoming Tasks" was delivered by R. Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee.

TASS: U.S., UK CONTINUING 'ANTI-SYRIAN HYSTERIA'

LD061649 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS -- By TASS commentator Grigoriy Vasilyev:

London and Washington are continuing their frantic anti-Syrian hysteria, submitting "evidence" of Syria's complicity in the attempt to blow up an Israeli airliner at London's Heathrow airport.

It is being claimed that the London court investigating the case of the terrorist involved in the attempt came to the conclusion that Syria had been connected.

Indicatively, the groundless accusations, deliberately levelled in coordination by Washington and London against the country which firmly sticks to an anti-imperialist course, are coming from those who trampled on the judgment of the World Court with regard to the continued imperialist aggression against sovereign Nicaragua.

These American circles have not only trampled on the World Court's decisions but are pursuing the policy of state-sponsored terrorism in various parts of the world, sometimes thousands of kilometres away from the United States.

According to the absurd logic of these circles, rulings of the representative international body in the Hague have no force, while decisions of a London court, clearly reflecting the biased viewpoint of the Conservative Government, are assessed as "irrefutable proof."

The anti-Syrian intrigues, started by London and inspired by Washington, give rise to indignation of the entire progressive international public.

The Soviet Union, other socialist countries have resolutely declared in support of the Syrian Arab Republic which became a target of slander and blackmail.

The principled stand of Syria which favours the earliest and fair settlement in the Middle East and opposes Israeli aggression and the capitulatory variants of the settlement, American-Israeli style, finds all-round support among the Soviet people.

The Soviet Union highly values Syria's independent constructive policy in the international arena, its contribution to preserving and strengthening universal peace and security.

The Soviet position has been and remains firm and invariable.

U.S. DEPUTY DEFENSE SECRETARY ARRIVES IN ISRAEL

LD061314 Moscow TASS in English 1147 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Amman November 6 TASS -- U.S. First Deputy Secretary of Defense William Taft arrived in Israel Wednesday for talks with top officials from the Israeli Defense Ministry on closer military ties under a "strategic cooperation" agreement between the two countries.

It is noteworthy that the high-ranking U.S. emissary came to the Middle East at a time when an anti-Syrian hysteria in the West and Israel has reached its crescendo.

Local commentators therefore do not rule out the possibility that Taft's talks in Israel will deal with the concrete details of preparing an act of aggression against the sovereign Arab country.

IRAN'S MUSAVI RULES OUT RELATIONS WITH U.S.

LD061641 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Beirut November 6 TASS -- Iran's Prime Minister Hosayn Musavi, speaking on Tehran radio on Wednesday, has ruled out the possibility of talks with Washington, comparing U.S.-Iranian relations with "relations between the wolf and the lamb". These statements coincided in time with reports on a secret visit to Tehran by Robert McFarlane, President Reagan's former national security adviser.

'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament, reported several details of this visit. McFarlane, he said, brought along with him President Reagan's message to Iranian leaders, in which the head of the U.S. Administration called for improving relations between the two countries.

The Iranian news agency IRNA points out that Reagan's envoys brought as presents to Iranian officials a Bible signed by the head of the White House, a cake with the representation of a symbolic key to the establishment of Iranian-U.S. relations and several pistols.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani said that McFarelane and four other Americans arrived in Tehran postng as members of the crew of a plane ferrying military equipment which was purchased from international arms merchants. The copies of the Irish passports presented by them are in possession of the Iranian authorities.

The speaker of the parliament added that staff members [of] the Iranian security service also have in possession a tape with the recording of the U.S. president's talks with his emissaries.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani said that he received a letter from Japan's Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone who asked Iran to use its influence on Moslem groups in Lebanon to obtain freedom of the U.S. citizens held hostage in that country. The speaker of the parliament informed the head of the Japanese Government that Iran would make attempts to get those hostages out, if the United States supplies to the republic weapons purchased back by the Shah regime.

McFarlane's visit is viewed in local political circles as an attempt by the United States to boost its interference in the protracted Iran-Iraq armed conflict. In so doing, Washington acts, as usual, jointly with Tel Aviv, its ally in the notorious strategic alliance which is spearheaded against Arab nations. [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 86 Morning Edition carries a report on the McFarlane visit to Iran identical to the TASS item except that the IZVESTIYA version drops the following paragraph entirely]

It is obvious that massive shipments of U.S. armaments, planned in Washington, can lead only to the aggravation of the conflict and are aimed at withdrawing Iran from the general Arab struggle against the Israeli aggression and expansion. So, the case in point is to employ the care of the hostages' fate as a cover up for [word indistinct] the Iran-Iraq conflict in selfish interests which fit the framework of the "neoglobalist" doctrine.

ANC'S TAMBO INTERVIEWED ON MEETING WITH GORBACHEV

LD070924 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1520 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Comrade Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, gave a press conference today at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center. Addressing journalists he said, among other things; Esteemed ladies and gentlemen and comrades. We are in Moscow as part of a delegation from the African National Congress to hold talks with the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet Government and with USSR public organizations. Tomorrow we will be present on Red Square.

November 7th is a very important date for the Soviet people, Comrade Tambo went on. It is also a historic date in the world political calendar. Today, noted Comrade Tambo, we would like to express our congratulations to the peoples of the Soviet Union and wish them all the very best.

During our stay in Moscow we have had a meeting with Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Since this meeting we have a feeling of conviction that the Soviet Union is fully on our side and supports our struggle for a united, democratic and nonracist South Africa, for an independent Namibia and for the south African region to be peaceful.

During our talks we also had the opportunity to hear about the efforts of the Soviet leadership aimed at furthering the elimination of the threat of nuclear war which hangs over mankind. We are convinced, stressed Comrade Tambo, that in order to guarantee the survival of mankind we must all act vigorously in the struggle for peace.

Concerning the results of the summit meeting in Reykjavik, Comrade Tambo noted that the hopes which were invoked in all mankind must remain a factor encouraging all the peoples to campaign still more purposefully for disarmament. Reykjavik has demonstrated thoroughly that peace is possible thanks to the bold initiatives which were put forward by the Soviet Union. Hopes for peace, noted Comrade Tambo, must be a motivating force for the implementation of these initiatives and we understand the urgent need for peace because we ourselves are the victims of oppression and war.

Oliver Tambo went on to touch upon certain questions of international politics and answered journalists' questions.

Arms Requests 'As Usual'

AU061403 Paris AFP in English 1327 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Moscow, Nov 6 (AFP) - Oliver Tambo, leader of South Africa's anti-apartheid guerrilla movement, the African National Congress (ANC), said here Thursday that he asked for arms and other supplies from the Soviet Union during his current visit to Moscow and expected the requests to be met "as usual".

Mr. Tambo, who met Tuesday with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, also told a press conference here that the ANC, the most powerful underground movement fighting the white minority regime in Pretoria, would probably set up a mission in Moscow soon.

"We are discussing the matter," he said. "The prospects are strong that we might be establishing such a mission soon, with or without diplomatic status."

Mr. Tambo arrived early this week as an official guest to Friday's ceremonies marking the 69th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Concerning his weapons request, Mr. Tambo said the ANC could not get arms needed for its guerrilla war from the West, "so we come to the Soviet Union."

When asked how much weaponry he had requested from Soviet officials, Mr. Tambo responded: "I could not say the price of one hundred Kalashnikovs" -- the Soviet-made assault rifles. He also declined to reveal the quantity of supplies requested, saying only that he was hopeful "that as usual our request will receive a positive response."

He added that the ANC had also asked for food, clothing and vehicles from Moscow as well as help in training ANC "cadres".

Mr. Tambo characterised his meeting Tuesday with Mr. Gorbachev as "historic", saying he was left feeling "greatly strengthened by the knowledge that the Soviet Union stands firmly with us in the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, an independent Namibia and a peaceful region of southern Africa.

"We draw immense satisfaction and inspiration from the fact that the Soviet Union is resolved to contribute everything within its possibilities and within the context of our own requests to assist the ANC, SWAPO and the people of our region to achieve these objectives".

SWAPO, the South West Africa People's Organization, is fighting South African control of Namibia.

He also reiterated allegations that South Africa "organized" the plane crash in South Africa last month which killed president Samora Machel of Mozambique by interfering with the plane's guidance system.

Responding to recurrent press reports that jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela could be freed in exchange for political prisoners held by Soviet bloc states, Mr. Tambo said: "We don't agree that Nelson Mandela should be exchanged with anybody, anywhere ... He should not have been in prison" at all.

MOSCOW TV SHOWS LEADERS AT 6 NOV GATHERING

LD062220 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1355 GMT on 6 November carries a 1 hour and 19-minute live relay of the festive gathering in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses marking the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The relay opens with the camera panning the audience in the conference hall and the announcer remarking on the importance of this festive gathering on the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The announcer then points out that Soviet party and state leaders are entering the hall, and the camera cuts to show Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, along with, among others, Aliyev, Yeltsin, Gromyko, Shevardnadze and Ryzhkov crossing the dias and taking their seats.

Saykin, chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom, then moves to the podium and announces the opening of the session. The audience and guests on the dais then rise as the national anthem is played, after which Saykin gives the floor to Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who addresses the festive gathering.

During Ligachev's address in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, the camera intermittently cuts from shots of the audience to close-ups of Ligachev, to long shots of Soviet state and party leaders on the dais. As the camera pans the dais, the following Soviet leaders are seen:

Front row, left to right on screen: five unidentified individuals, Tereshkova, Zaykov, Chebrikov, Ligachev, Gromyko, Gorbachev, Saykin, Yeltsin, Ryzhkov, Solomentsev, Shevardnadze, Vorotnikov, Aliyev, and Marchuk, followed by four unidentified individuals.

Second row, left to right on screen: two unidentified individuals, Shcherbina, Silayev, Maslyukov, Gusev, Voronin, Vedernikov, Batalin, Antonov, Murakhobskiy, Demichev, Dolgikh, Talyzin, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Zimyanin, Medvedev, Nikonov, Razumovskiy, Kapitonov, unidentified individual, Lushev, Kulikov, Akhromeyev, and Lizichev, followed by seven unidentified individuals.

Third row, left to right on screen: Slovo, Andriamanjato, (?Ghiotti), (?Urbany), Tambo, Florakis, several unidentified individuals, (?General Maksimov), General Ivanovskiy, Marshal Koldunov, General Govorov, Admiral Chernavin, and Marshal of the Soviet Union Kurkotkin, followed by four unidentified men in military uniforms bearing the rank of general.

Sokolov, minister of defense, and Yakovlev, member of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, are not seen on the dais.

As the camera pans the audience during the speech, it dwells briefly on former Chief Marshal of Artillery Tolubko.

With the conclusion of Ligachev's speech, the camera cuts to show Gorbachev and members of the Politburo applauding. Saykin then steps forward to the podium where he declares the festive session closed. The playing of the national anthem follows as the audience rises. At 1514 GMT, Moscow Television concludes its live relay of the festive gathering in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses marking the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Sokolov Absent

AU061636 Paris AFP in English 1632 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Moscow, Nov 6 (AFP) -- Defense Minster Sergey Sokolov was absent late Thursday from a ceremonial gathering of Soviet leaders in the Kremlin to commemorate the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Marshal Sokolov's non-appearance was interpreted by observers here as lending strenth to rumors that ill-health is preventing the 75-year-old official from fulfilling his duties.

Friday it will be General Petr Lushev, one of the three Soviet deputy defence ministers, who will review the troops before the traditional Red Square march-past of the Soviet Armed Forces. Soviet custom decrees that it is the defence minister who does the reviewing.

Both Western and East European diplomatic sources here predict that Marshal Solokov's retirement may shortly be announced.

Western military sources said that the 63-year-old Gen. Lushev seemed to be placed to succeed him.

Marshal Solokov was last seen in public on October 10, when he was at Moscow airport to see off communist party chief Mikhail Gorbachev to the Reykjavik superpower summit. But he was absent when Mr. Gorbachev returned on October 13.

Ligachev Speaks at Meeting

LD061540 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1402 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Report by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at festive gathering in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses to mark the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution; video shows Ligachev speaking interspersed with shots of the presidium and the audience -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, we are gathered here in the Kremlin, in this, the country's central auditorium, to mark the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The country is making the current anniversary at a time of a great turnabout in the development of Soviet society, begun and guided by the party on the basis of the decision of the April Central Committee plenum, on the basis of the program tenets of the 27th party congress.

We have always said, and today we have the right to place particular emphasis on this, that the cause of the revolution which sharply altered the fate of our country and the course of world history, of the revolution which opened before the peoples the road to social emancipation and national freedom, the cause of the revolution which unfurled over the world the banner of peace and international cooperation, this grand, complex, noble and difficult cause continues. [applause]

The changes taking place in the country and the ideas which propel them show quite clearly that over the years which have elapsed since October, we have not lost the role of pioneer on the great road to communism. Our revolutionary thinking has not lost its edge. Our creative energy has not dried up.

Our political will remains just as firm as that of the Bolsheviks who raised up proletarian, working Russia to win power and create a new society.

Like Lenin's generation of revolutionaries, we understand that the new summit of social progress cannot be conquered automatically. The decisions of our April plenum, of our 27th congress, are nothing less than a call to work energetically, in order to utilize the opportunities and advantages of socialism to the fullest extent, for the sake of the Soviet people, for the sake of the peoples.

The Leninist mode of thought and action, and Bolshevik boldness and persistence in implementing decisions once they are adopted, these are the things which provide the living temporal link connecting the work of our party today and the strategy and tactics of the revolutionaries in 1917.

With the victory of the October Revolution, the new socialist society was born, and subsequently grew in strength and attained a high degree of maturity. In the sociopolitical and spiritual context, Soviet society is ahead of the capitalist world by a whole eon. Here the power and the means of production are in the hands of the people. Here exploitation is ruled out, as are all forms of social oppression and antagonism between nationalities. The world of Soviet man is one of collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, where each lives with confidence in the morrow, with a sense of reliable social protection.

People's age-old dreams about justice and about the moving forces of social progress, about being concerned for the all-round development of every individual, have become a reality. The superiority of the Soviet system is manifested and affirmed by its ability to resolve fundamental questions concerning man's existence. The October Revolution laid down the beginnings for the systematic and dynamic development of our country's productive forces. Soon, comrades, the statistics will in their way mark a significant landmark: Our country's national wealth will exceed the revolutionary level 50 times. This exceeds 10-fold the growth of the same index in the United States. If one takes into account how many losses, how many casualties, and how many destruction has been brought upon us by the brigandage of the internal and external counterrevolution, and then later on by Hitler's aggression, then these figures can not be interpreted in any way other than as testimony to the supreme constructive might of socialism. During the years of Soviet power both the level and the quality of life of our people have changed sharply. Real incomes of the population have increased 12-fold in the cities and 19-fold in the countryside. Guaranteed work and free medical care, as well as the right to material provision in old-age, and participation, accessible to all, in state and public affairs, have become an everyday norm of life for Soviet people.

Much has been done in the area of social and cultural and especially housing construction. Note comrades, 240 million people celebrated housewarmings in homes built in only the last 30 years. A cultural revolution followed on in our country after the social revolution. It gave the people universal literacy; it gave rise to tens of millions of expert technicians and masters of production, specialists and scientists. Soviet science and engineering ideas have opened up the way to outer space for mankind. In its peaceful development, as in certain other directions in world scientific and technological progress, our country holds firmly on to foremost positions. All of this constitutes a most rich groundwork of knowledge and experience, and enormous potential, which we are putting into operation in setting about a new revolutionary transformation in productive forces.

Socialism has radically altered the situation and role of our motherland in the international arena too. It has given us the kind of material, ideological, and moral resources which enable us to have a useful influence on the course of world events, to wage an active struggle for a peaceful life for our people and for all the world's peoples. Having achieved military and strategic parity with the forces of imperialism, the Soviet Union and its allies have substantially limited the opportunities for potential aggressors to unleash a nuclear war.

In a word, comrades, all that the generations of Soviet people following October 1917 have done forms a reliable foundation for implementing the plans outlined by the 27th congress of our party, for fulfilling the historic tasks set in the party program. It is on this foundation, on the limitless opportunities of socialism, that the idea of accelerating the social and economic development of our motherland and renewing public life -- our innovative decisions and actions in domestic and foreign policy -- rest.

The process of restructuring which is now unfolding has a revolutionary character both in its scale and in its content. Of course, this does not mean changing the essence of our social system. On the contrary: This process is aimed at strengthening and developing fundamental socialist principles, at doing away with everything which is incompatible with them, and at creating the conditions for the effective use of socialism's enormous potential. The party expresses the essence at the heart of restructuring in a clear-cut formula: More socialism!

We have resolutely begun the work of renewing socialist production relations, ensuring they consistently correspond to the growing productive forces. Much is being done in the development and strictest observance of social justice inherent in our system.

The forms of Soviet democracy and people's socialist self-government are being expanded and enriched. All this means that powerful engines of progress are being switched up to full speed, engines of a kind that no society but a socialist society has or could have. It is an indisputable fact, comrades, that in putting into effect the decisions of the April plenum and the 27th congress we have already achieved the most enormous growth in the political strength and political prestige of our party -- and this is our great achievement. [applause] But at the same time this also indicates the growing responsibility of the party. Our people have approved and supported our party's line and adopted it as an expression of their own will and as a course to which there is simply no alternative. It is clear that to persistently strive for the planned objectives is now not just a question of intention; it is an immutable commitment. We will have to pay a high political price and a loss of faith in socialism for any hold-ups in our movement along our chosen path, for any deviation, be it backward or to one side. We will be judged not only on our plans, but primarily on the actual changes in society and on practical results.

Not without reason is it now being said that the air which we breathe has become purer. But, it must be admitted, not all have learned how to fill their lungs with it. Not all understand yet the essence of what is happening. Some people are inclined to look at restructuring as nothing more than a cosmetic repair job on our socialist edifice. They are mistaken. Restructuring is the transformation of deep-rooted structures in the economy and in the political and social spheres. That is its objective, that is the essence of it, that is what should and is making it irreversible. [applause]

It is clear, comrades, that changes in the economy are of key significance. These changes are already appreciable and tangible.

The new large-scale technical reconstruction of the national economy has begun. Much is being done to ensure the priority development of machine-building and to raise the quality of its output drastically and rapidly. The thorough restructuring of the organizational structure of management has already reached some of the most important complexes in the national economy -- machine-building, agro-industrial, fuel-and-power, construction, and foreign-economic. A new economic mechanism is also being shaped. In less than 2 months time the whole of industry, construction, rail transport, and trade will switch to new conditions of work which have been tested during the course of a major economic experiment, with associations and enterprises in five industrial ministries moving over to a regime of complete financial autonomy and self-financing where, as is known, profits become the decisive source of the collective's production and social development.

Both principles of democratic centralism in the organization of economic life are being strengthened and developed.

Together with an intensification in the efficiency of the planning leadership and an improvement in the centralised management, the boundary of enterprises' and associations' responsibility and independence is spreading vigorously. Conditions are being created to raise their receptiveness to scientific-technological progress, their interest in highly productive work and reliable cooperation with their partners. Economic norms that are stable for the 5-year plan period are to play a special role.

The first 10 months of the 12th 5-year plan show an increased dynamism in the development of the national economy. Just note, comrades, the highest rates of the growth of national income and industrial production in the 1980s have been achieved; the work of the metallurgy industry has improved substantially, also of the coal and gas industry and transport. Labor productivity has been increased to above the level established. The outlay on units of production has been reduced more than was planned. The rate of growth of agricultural produce has, as envisaged, been almost double the rate of the average annual targets of the 5-year plan. The gross grain harvest will be around 210 million metric tons, which is almost 30 million metric tons more than the average annual grain production volume in the last 5-year plan. [applause] Honor and glory to the working people of our motherland who, through their steadfast and conscientious labor, have ensured a vigorous start to the 12th 5-Year Plan. [applause]

The circle of enterprises and associations that are successfully coming to terms with the new approaches to production and efficient forms of management has widened substantially. Following the Western Siberian metallurgical combine and the Severskiy pipe works, and the Novopolotsk Polymer association, and hundreds of associations and enterprises have now made for themselves an immutable rule -- to fulfill 100 percent their delivery contracts.

Many works and factories in Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, the Urals and Siberia have learned to increase their production without increasing their workforces. Following the example of the scientific-production association Kriogenmash, of the Ivanovo machine-tool construction association, and of the Kupavna fine-cloth factory, thousands and thousands of labor collectives consider it a matter of honor to produce, on the basis of advanced technology, only first rate production.

New methods of economic management, progressive forms of labor organization, intensive technology in the agriculture of Belorussia and Lithuania, Tataria and Bashkiria, the Altay, Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, and the Orenburg, Zhitomir, Crimean, Kustanay, Kokchetav and a number of other oblasts are being assimilated with increasing confidence. Precisely on this basis, a substantial growth has been achieved here in agricultural production.

Nevertheless, comrades, in a number of sectors and in many labor collectives, restructuring is still proceeding only slowly. The qualitative breakthrough has not yet started here. Although the scale of scientific and technical work has grown, it does not match up to the tasks of today. There are quite a few enterprises where the growth in output lags behind the rise in earnings. Resources are used wastefully. The production of poor-quality consumer goods continues. Technological norms and regulations are infringed, and that, as is known, leads to serious, and sometimes tragic, consequences.

After all, acceleration is not just growth as such, but an absolutely new quality of growth. Positive trends in this respect have already taken shape in our country, but they have not yet gained stability. They do not posses, as it were, the necessary margins of durability. Nowadays, when this is required by the party Central Committee the whole effort must be concentrated so as to create it.

First and foremost, it is necessary to see that all directives really are implemented, and not just formally but in a decisive manner. Otherwise, what sometimes happens? It has been determined, for example, that the economic agreements with the consumers must be the basis for drawing up the enterprise's plan. In practice, these agreements remain a mere transposition of what was previously put into the supplier's production plans. That is, as before, speaking figuratively, the cart is before the horse. As before, the interests of the consumer, and that means the real social need, are in the shade.

Or take reconstruction. At some enterprises, this is carried out and even completed within a short time. But it is carried out on the basis of unproductive equipment, and so the improvement of technical and economic indicators does not, unfortunately, produce any real increase in output capacity.

All this poses the pressing question of the fact that a special discipline is needed today -- the discipline of restructuring. From each management body, from each sector, each collective, and from every working person this requires not only order in everyday work but the taking of initiative, and - let's put it bluntly, sometimes, in the full meaning of the word - self-sacrificing action, essential for accomplishing the strategic tasks of the renewal of economic life.

The experience of October, the experience of all turning points in socialist construction leaves no doubt that major social transformations are only possible when this condition is fulfilled. The transition from partial improvements and transformations to an integral radical form of the administration and of economic management is being put onto a practical plane. It should embrace planning, financing, price-setting and supplies, and it should embrace all cross-sections of management of public-sector production, of the national economy, and of branch and territorial programs. It should embrace all stages of the reproduction cycle and all factors of economic growth. The party deems it to be a matter of crucial importance to speed up the creation of this new, flexible system. It is necessary to move persistently toward a shift by enterprises and associations to a regime of self-recouping and self-financing in order to introduce relations of financial autonomy to a deeper and wider extent.

Two objective demands follows from this: First, to implement a speedier shift by the top echelons of the economic structure of ministries and departments over to economic and efficient methods of administration. Otherwise, as they say, there is no use in waiting for a truly major return from the shift of the main link of the national economy -- enterprises and associations -- to financial autonomy.

Secondly, financial autonomy should resolutely be spread down to the level of production shops and labor teams, drawing every worker, specialist and leader into it. Only when this condition is met will we arrive at independence and responsibility on all levels. Only in that case shall we have the human factor, the interest of the people and the initiative of the people fully set into motion.

The party's Central Committee, the government, and the AUCCTU have made a decision of enormous significance on improving the wage system in the production sphere. The measures envisaged are a constituent part of the work on the introduction of a new economic mechanism. From now on, the raising of wages will be implemented on a principally different basis, in direct linkage to improvements in the economic activities of labor collectives made using the funds earned by them. Here, it must be put bluntly, we are making an important step forward in the development of socialism and in the practical realization of its requirement. From each according to his abilities and to each according to his labor.

Consistent implementation of this principle extensively broadens the horizons for raising the national well-being and the possibilities of satisfying the needs of the working people.

This is not just theory, comrade, it is living practice. Take just the housing problem, for instance: The Gorkiy Motor Vehicle Works is not alone in managing to set about solving this problem ahead of the programmed schedule. Today, hundreds and thousands of enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the country have started to tackle this successfully. We are making it an unshakeable rule to combine all economic and production solutions with social solutions. The work of our greatly-ramified national economy must today be oriented unfailingly toward getting closer to resolving the food problem, saturating the market with the necessary selection of consumer goods, and ensuring that Soviet man is provided with services of a modern standard.

The social task of our economy is increasing perceptibly. Note, comrades, that between January and October, that is in the 10 months of the current year, 14 percent more housing has been brought into use than in the same period last year, 13 percent more schools, 27 percent more children's preschool institutions, and 60 percent more polyclincs and hospitals.

True, one should point out that these indices are high, but they nevertheless are not up to plan. This is in no small degree linked to the fact that the ministries and departments of the social complex operate independently; many urgent questions of social development are not resolved properly in the planning and economic organs. The situation is now being put right. In accordance with the decision of the party Central Committee Politburo, a permanently operating organ of the USSR Government is being set up which will coordinate all the work in this sphere, direct it, and be responsible for the dynamic and well-proportioned development of all branches of the social complex.

Next in line is the drawing up of a new law on providing pensions for the working people. The aim is to improve the living conditions of labor veterans and to introduce new material incentives for pensioners who continue to take an active part in social production. The bill will be submitted for nationwide discussion.

Large-scale measures are being taken to better meet the population's requirements for high-quality medical assistance, and to speed up the development everywhere of all health services. It is planned to reinforce the material basis of health care and to increase the salaries of health workers, while also maintaining the links between these and the amount and quality of the work carried out by health workers.

There has been no unemployment for more than 50 years in our country, and today, when the development of our economy is proceeding under the slogan of more output, less workers, this does not threaten a single Soviet person with losing the opportunity of working and receiving remuneration in accordance with his industrial skills, experience and knowledge. The right to labor is one most important gain of the October Revolution, and the further development of socialism will mean the creation of new and increasingly firm guarantees of the inviolability of this principle, which is sacred to us.

Comrades, the day after the October Revolution, the great Lenin proclaimed: We must give full freedom to the creativity of the masses of the people. You can see just how Lenin's words are in keeping with what the party is now doing to democratize society. Acceleration is quite simply not possible without this, without the utmost development of the initiative of the working people. The deepening of democracy, the fundamental political quality of our system, is a diverse process. It presupposes, first and foremost, undeviating expansion of the framework of socialist self-management, shaping the feeling in every Soviet person of being master of the country and the activation of all links in the political system of society.

As you know, a decision was adopted recently directed toward making more efficient use, the interests of acceleration, of the mighty political strength of the Soviets in that form of socialist statehood and democracy affirmed by the October Revolution. On the agenda is the issue of expanding the rights of the Komsomol, increasing its initiative and independence. This will make it possible to involve young people, that dynamic, and to be blunt, energetic section of society, our worthy successors, even more actively in the resolution of the tasks of the whole people. The militancy of the trade unions is to be increased and the ability of other mass organizations to take the initiative is to be realized to the full. One step in this direction is the creation of the all-union public organization of war and labor veterans. An important link in the public initiative of the people is to be the women's councils which are now being organized everywhere. The form of direct democracy in labor collectives is developing steadily, although not without difficulties. One example of this is the front-ranking financially autonomous teams, sections and farms, in whose activities, as you know, economics, politics and education are interwoven. The principle of collectivism in relations between people, justice in remuneration, and democratism in the management of production.

The party and the state are striving to ensure that the participation of the working people in management is not only extensive, but also competent, and this presupposes a substantial growth in the political culture of the masses, and in the development of the ability to make use of the rights and opportunities granted them. All of us, comrades, both in the leadership and in the ranks, must learn to work and live in conditions of expanding democracy. Creativity, courage, and resolution -- this is what we need.

This is the requirement of the day. This is not the time, comrades, to place one's trust in strictly administrative methods.

In the meantime some personnel, including some managers, have shown themselves unprepared for self-reliance. They remain incapable of taking a step without an order to do so. That way things seem quieter. There is rather less responsibility and no need to take risks, and if anything happens you can defend yourself by referring to orders from above.

The development of our democracy is inseparable from the strengthening of socialist legality. Our party regards strengthening law and order, ensuring constitutional guarantees for the inviolability of the individual, and preserving the rights and legitimate interests of the Soviet people, as an important political task. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the education of the working people in the spirit of a clear understanding of the unity of rights and duties, of freedoms and responsibility. Our constitution proclaims that the utilization by the citizen of rights and freedoms should not damage the interests of society and of the state, nor the rights of other citizens.

In a spirit of democratization the work of management and of its apparatus is being restructured. Here the question of the struggle against bureaucracy is particularly acute. The bureaucracy adopts a suspicious attitude to everything which moves outside the framework of the yellowing memo. It ruins vital causes, and puts a brake on the process of renewal. Note how accurately Marx pinpointed the essence of bureaucracy. He said that the essence of bureaucracy lies in the fact that it converts problems of state into problems of officialdom, and vice versa.

What is generated by a formal, bureaucratic working method? Putting it plainly, it creates a tangle of instructions and a whirlwind of papers. The source of these distortions lies in imperfections in social relations, and above all in underestimation of the economic levers of management.

Multiple authority and excess paper-work are multiplied in conditions of erratic interdepartmental liaison and parochialism by a cumbersome management apparatus. The fact that bureaucracy is still alive may also be explained by the insufficient utilization of the institutions of socialist democracy. All that is now being done in the country is a perceptible strike against bureaucracy. Its roots are being undermined in the course of the reconstruction of the economic mechanism. Measures are being implemented to reduce the management apparatus and to increase its efficiency. Strict measures have been adopted to combat the embroidering of accounts, the declaration of false figures, and all kinds of distortions. The party will not tolerate state fraud or any cheats within its ranks. The country and the people need specific deeds, and not exaggerated success stories dressed up in gilded covers.

The struggle against bureaucracy and the development of democracy are unthinkable without openness. Broadening the struggle is a question of principle. The need to call a spade a spade and to tell people truthfully what is succeeding and what is not, and why -- this is an indespensable condition of strengthening the ties between the masses and the party and increasing their confidence in its policy.

People ask from time to time: are we not pouring out too many shortcomings in the press and in speeches? Does this not harm our common cause? No, it does not, comrades. On the contrary, it helps to get rid of these shortcomings.

We all recall what the smoothing-over of real contradictions and an ignorance of growing problems led to. What we need is criticism, criticism which is creative, without respect for individuals, which acknowledges no closed areas; criticism which is honest, open and not anonymous; criticism which is not one-sided but is directed against all who merit it, be they maladroit leaders or careless workers, kolkhozniks or specialists.

Comrades, revolutionary changes in society are impossible without corresponding changes in public consciousness. Here it is hard to overestimate the role of ideological work where fundamental restructuring is also underway. Its leitmotif is a decisive turn in life. The great teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin serve as the ideological basis of the changes taking place in the country. The strength and power of a theory lies in its capability for self-renovation and its ability to discern a new historic period of development and to respond to the most burning problems of the day. Our 27th congress, as is known, demonstrated in full measure this scientific insight of Marxism-Leninism, its revolutionary sense of criticism and its creative spirit.

It advanced far ahead of our idea of the logic governing the modern world and ways of improving socialism; it developed a scientifically checked program of action for the short term and longer term. However, it would be naive to suppose, comrades, that we have the answers to literally all questons: Of course not. There are more problems than ready solutions in life. Theory is necessary not only for a forward-looking socio-political orientation, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Departments of Social Science Studies; it is needed literally for our every step forward. Not a single practical question no matter how major can be solved without being interpreted through and substantiated in theory. In laying down new paths we are counting on the intensive work of Soviet scientists. Fundamental and applied scientific research is a powerful instrument in restructuring, a mighty means for revolutionizing production and all social practice.

As we know, an idea can only become a transforming force when it is in the hands of the masses. Forming a social awareness which answers the realities of today is a complex problem. What are we talking about? Above all, about restructuring the psychology and thinking of personnel in the spirit of the new approaches developed by the congress, and getting rid of obsolete stereotypes. At the same time it is essential that the situation is achieved whereby each Soviet person really does assimilate the essence of the innovative decisions proposed by our party. Of course, it is extremely important to ensure a unity between theory and practice, and prevent the occurrence of a situation in which the new slogans appear to have been assimilated, but things carry on in the old way.

In a word, our awareness has to be emancipated, it must be made energetic and receptive to new ideas, and on this basis the spiritual activity of the entire people must be further enhanced.

The intransient significance of Great October is that for the first time in history equality and fraternity between the peoples of our country was really achieved. We are internationalists: But Internationalism, to speak in the words of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, isn't some kind of holiday outing in the gardens of Internationalistic literature. A genuine internationalism -- not internationalism in words alone -- is an internationalism of concrete and substantial deeds. It is manifest in many aspects: It is the enhancement of the role of the republics in the development of the national economic complex.

It is the active participation of working people of all nationalities in the state and public life of the union; it is the interrepublican exchange of personnel and their enrichment with scientific and cultural values.

In a word, the ability of work to yield results in the improvement of national relations is determined by how it assists the main task -- the further flourishing of our multinational motherland, the formation of that special national pride whose essence was excellently expressed by Mayakovskiy: Eat your heart out, I'm a citizen of the Soviet Union!

The concept of the Soviet patriot has certain features which are common to all stages of our development but at each historical stage particular aspects of it come to the fore. Today, one of the most important tasks of inculcating patriotism is to create in every Soviet person the feeling of personal responsibility for the progress and results of the transformations taking place in the country and for the honor of the label: Made in the USSR.

When we stress the need to ensure the output of products surpassing foreign models, to surpass world technological achievements in a short time, these are not just groundless daydreams. There are well-grounded calculations. There is a firm confidence in our potential. But to fulfill these it is necessary to create scope for innovative ideas and for genuinely creative people. The greatest possible use of the vast intellectual strength of the people, its best brains, has now become an extremely important task.

At the same time a process is under way which can be described in one word: cleansing, cleansing our socialist society of everything that is alien to it. This particularly concerns the moral sphere which at one time was one of the most, let us put it bluntly, defiled and this was manifested in the growth of negative features and in the revival of petty bourgeois psychology.

Transformations in the moral and psychological climate are already tangible. The mood and rhythm of life are changing; somnolence and indifference are becoming things of the past; people have taken themselves in hand and have become stricter toward themselves and others.

The effectiveness of the work that is being done can be judged by using the example of the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. A year and a half has passed since the relevant decisions were taken. What are the results? The consumption of wine and vodka has declined by more than a third. Notice that absenteeism has declined by approximately the same amount. The crime rate has declined by a quarter. The number of road accidents has declined by a fifth.

What is noteworthy, comrades, is the fact that the economic effect of the measures that have been taken is already beginning to approximate the sum lost to the budget due to the curtailment of the sales of alcoholic beverages.

But can the advantages be measured only in rubles? How many lives have been saved? How many families have been preserved? What can be more important than the health of our people. Relying on the support of the absolute majority of Soviet we shall unswervingly eradicate drunkenness, alcoholism, and drug abuse and affirm a sober way of life. That is our firm line and no one will deflect us from it, comrades. [applause]

The struggle against nonlabor incomes is being developed in an equally resolute and uncompromising fashion. Cutting short excesses in this matter, the party Central Committee demands actions of the most energetic kind against social parasitism in all it manifestations. It is right today to recall just how sharply this question was raised by Vladimir Ilich Lenin. He spoke of bribe-takers, speculators, swindlers, and similar filth as enemies of Soviet power and stressed that any weakness, and instance of being soft in dealing with them would be the greatest crime against socialism. These are the positions from which the party proceeds today. To build up efforts in the struggle against those who inflict economic and moral damage upon our society and the cause of socialism and who break the laws is the mandate of the whole of our people and this mandate will be carried out. [applause]

The role of our multinational culture in consolidating the moral health of society and in the movement of the whole people for restructuring is a great one. Here, too, a lot has been done over a short period of time. The material base of culture is being strengthened. Important measures are being carried out in the theater and in work in music and with concerts, in the showing of films and in the figurative arts. The Soviet Culture Fund, the All-Union Music Society, and the Union of Theatrical Societies are being organized. A number of decisions have been taken to restore monuments of history and culture. All this is evidence of the increased attention of the CPSU and of the Soviet state to preserving and multiplying the riches of our culture, which is centuries old, and to the humanitarian sphere in general.

The party perceives the active support of figures in literature and art and strives to create the most favorable conditions for creative activity. At the center of discussions at the moment is the issue of the truthfulness with which reality is reflected in art. Soviet peope are in favor of truth, but this must be the whole truth and not a one-sided truth; the truth of life in all its variety, with the struggle between the old and the new, with creative enthusiasm.

Naturally this means that masters of culture and our creative young people must have, first and foremost, a precise political orientation in their world outlook, a responsible attitude both toward themselves and toward their cause, and a genuine spirit of the people and party. This is also important in connection with the social processes that are taking place in the world. The question of Aleksey Maksimovich Gorkiy sounds even louder as the appeal of figures of Soviet culture to their colleagues overseas: On whose side are you, masters of culture?

The party is confident that the people of Soviet literature and art will create shining works which reflect the innovative activity of the party and the selfless work of the people, works in which the voice of active fighters to strengthen the positions of socialism and peace against everything that is moribund, will be heard in full measure.

As is known, at historical watersheds our literature and art have always concentrated their efforts, their strength on what was the main thing in the life of the country and of the whole of mankind and have brought forward new talent. One can have no doubt that this regularity will also be displayed now.

Having placed itself at the head of the restructuring in society, the CPSU started with itself, with restructuring the style and methods of its own work.

The results of the first post-congress report-back and election campaign in the primary party organizations, which has just ended, show that communists have become more exacting in the demands they place upon themselves and their elected leaders. The influence of the lower echelons of the party on all aspects of life of the labor collectives is being intensified. Party committees and organizations act as bodies of true political leadership in an increasingly confident way.

This is precisely the style of work of the party organization of the city of Moscow. Communists of the city have started waging a principled struggle against complacency and showing-off. Realistic analysis of the state of affairs and persistent work on resolution of social problems are becoming a norm. The rate of industrial production has grown appreciably. Although there are still a considerable number of complicated issues, our party's Central Committee is convinced that the labor rhythm of the capital will be growing and that Muscovites will bring in a worthy contribution to resolving the tasks of the 12th 5-Year Plan. [applause]

The question of cadres has been and remains the main issue in the system of party leadership. It can be said even now that the measures which have been taken since April, 1985, on improving the placing of cadres, justify themselves. The overwhelming majority -- we have sufficient grounds for saying that -- precisely the overwhelming majority of newly arrived workers are working to their full capacity. Many experienced leaders who did not hesitate to embark on implementing the policy line of accelerating development, also continue to work successfully.

At present, it is of great importance to provide a new basis for the training of both, to retrain the leading cadres in a sense, to equip them with the skills and methods of work which meet the demands of the times. That is, we shall put it bluntly, a party and state task of the greatest importance. We are faced with getting down to it in a real way. The party resolutely eradicates everything which led to the degeneration of cadres. It is aspiring to create a reliable barrier in the way of phenomena of this kind. The strictest possible adherence of all communists irrespective of their position to the Party Rules is a guarantee of that. It is guaranteed by the selection of cadres exclusively according to their political, businesslike and moral qualities, by merciless eradication of all kinds of protectionism, of the atmosphere of impunity and infallibility which at times was earlier shaping itself up around some leaders.

Many things in personnel work still have to be improved. Some things also have to be changed. It is quite logical that, as you know, questions of personnel policy are being put forward for special attention at the next plenum of our party's Central Committee. The party keeps in view all the personnel for which the national economy has a need. The training and raising of qualifications of workers and specialists for the development and assimilation of the latest technology is a matter of the foremost importance. Furthermore, the supply of manpower for scientific and technical progress must keep ahead of the growth -- [Ligachev corrects himself] the pace of technical reconstruction of production.

The resolution of this task is linked with the restructuring of higher and secondary specialized education, which, following the school reform, has begun in our country. The party central committee regards the reform of Soviet schools, both in secondary and higher education, as one of the decisive factors in acceleration. The scientific and technical revolution and the fundamental changes in various spheres of life demand that all, literally all cadres, constantly increase and update their knowledge.

The uninterrupted process of education is one of the signs of the times and a continuation of the cause of the cultural revolution which was inaugurated by the October Revolution.

The inseparable link with the people and unstinting service to its interests are the main principle, the aim of all the activities of the CPSU. Regular meetings between leaders and the working people are becoming a binding practice. So is nationwide discussion of most important questions in the life of the country. In their decisions party and state bodies are taking increasingly full account of public opinion. The strength of public opinion can be harnessed like the flow of mighty rivers, as you know.

When we speak about turning to the people, we also have in mind the fact that the specific individual is being made the center of the party's organizational and ideological work. The party is striving to put an end, once and for all, to the state of affairs in which some people announce and solemnly proclaim the truth, while others simply listen, in which no place is left for a proper dialogue. Mere orientation toward the concept of the mass of people often leads to a situation in which figures push living people into the background, in which everything is somehow reduced to an average and depersonalized. Here too one must put an end to the approach which is based on gross number. In carrying out work with a mass audience, it is essential to bear in mind the special features of specific people. Of course, one must be a bit more attentive to those who are most in need of our assistance. It is in this direction, genuinely geared to people, to everything which concerns Soviet people, that the Central Committee is demanding that the restructuring of party work be developed.

Comrades, we do not conceal the difficulties: They are both objective and subjective in nature. For a struggle is under way, a struggle between the forces of renewal and those who would wish to derail restructuring and push us into a mire of economic stagnation and social apathy. There can be no concessions to the obsolete, for it is the future of socialism and the destiny of our country that is at stake. [applause]

The CPSU does not doubt victory in achieving the goals set: A guarantee of this is the support of the Soviet people, who are wholeheartedly in favor of changes for the better. A further guarantee of this is the inviolable social and international unity of our society, the strengthening alliance of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. This alliance, this unity, proceeding from the events of October 1917, has been and remains the most reliable guarantee of the success of revolutionary transformation work.

The calculations of the enemies of socialism aimed at undermining our country economically, weakening it ideologically and politically and driving a wedge between the party and the people, between the leadership and society -- will never be realized. The movement of the Soviet people, inspired by the ideas of the 27th Congress, is an invincible movement; belief in the success of this cause resounds in the triumphant words of our song:

The Flame of our soul,
The banner of our country.
We shall bear through worlds and ages! [great applause]

Comrades, we live in the country to which Great October gave birth. But we also live in a world which was essentially transformed by the mighty influence of that revolution, a world which is continually changing under its manifold effect, an effect which has not weakened over the years.

There has never been such a short span of time in mankind's history, to put it bluntly, when the political map of the globe has been redrawn so much and the shape of the globe itself so radically changed. The formation of our state was the first step on the way to establishing a world system of socialism. The Land of the Soviets made a decisive contribution to the victory gained by the people in the fight against the dark forces of fascism and militarism. The colonial empires fell apart, and the peoples of the dozens of countries which grew up on their remains acquired the right and opportunities to choose their own path to building a just society. The political parties and movements linked with the working class and with the democratic and patriotic strata of society turned into powerful forces. Millions of simple people literally rushed headlong into politics.

The role of the peoples in the struggle against war and the arms race for security and wide international cooperation, is growing. All this determines the face of the modern world. However, the picture of it would not be complete if one were to ignore the influence our October has had on the very essence of international relations. It suggested a fundamentally new approach to the solution of the most complex and dramatic problem for mankind -- war or peace. Soviet Russian called for the behavior of states on the international scene to be radically changed, subordinating it to a striving toward the preservation and maintaining of peace between peoples on a fair, democratic basis. Since the first days of its existence it has been building its foreign policy on precisely such a basis.

The continuity of the international strategy of the party, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said in the political report of the Central Committee at the 27th Congress, has nothing in common with the simple repetition of things of the past. The development of military technology has set the world a choice: Either survive, and learn to live in a humane way, or perish; as they say, there is no other option. This demands a courageous and profound reevaluation of the situation that has arisen, a new, genuinely new political way of thinking, making a break with the conceptions and views of the pre-nuclear age.

Our Leninist party has fearlessly heeded the call of the times. The enormous significance of the April plenum resides in the fact, comrades, that it laid the basis for the formation of such a new political way of thinking. It acquired its complete expression at the 27th Congress, which came to the conclusion that in present circumstances, when the very existence of the human race is under the threat of death, the struggle between Capitalism and Socialism can only take place in the form of peaceful competition and rivalry, without exception. Relying on that fundamentally important concluson, the congress worked out the party's international strategy in conformity with the realities of the modern world. Only a little time has passed. But it is already clear now, comrades, that the party's course was the right one, and our party is acting correctly.

The new approach [applause], the new approach to foreign policy problems is dictated above all by the fact that the guaranteeing of security has now become above all a political task, and not a military one. Security cannot be guaranteed for oneself if other states feel themselves threatened. There is no other way, as they say. All our party's work on the international scene proceeds from this, too.

Have we achieved a lot since the congress? The answer, as they say, is not so simple. The threat of nuclear war remains a real one. The arms race continues. But after all, it was naive to count on everything changing immediately and abruptly in that respect.

The line of peace, which the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries are actively pursuing as stubbornly and sometimes aggressively opposed by a different line, aimed toward undermining the military and strategic balance, toward preparations for war.

This is the line of imperialism; it is the line of reaction. It is the line of those who do not want dialogue between states and are afraid of it, who are ready to risk mankind's destiny for the sake of imposing their way of thinking and their way of life on other peoples.

Yes comrades, the struggle for peace is truly a difficult and fierce struggle, one demanding both wisdom and stubbornness, and consistency and responsibility when making decisions. The party is ready for this struggle, considering that it must be won and can be won. Such is the moral, humanitarian foundation for the Soviet Union's conduct in international affairs. [applause]

It is not through words and appeals, but through specific actions in the world arena that we have been able to impart dynamism to international relations. Comrades, this has already brought its first specific results. The struggle for elimination of nuclear weapons has moved on to a qualitatively new practical plane following the advancement by the Soviet Union on 15 January this year of a specific program to remove these weapons from the face of the earth by the year 2000. Recognition of the significance and value of the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, in effect form more than a year now, it becoming wider.

In Stockholm it was possible to make step forwards in matters concerning the strengthening of trust between states and the assertion in international practice of the principle of nonuse of force or the threat of force. An important place in forming trust was played by the IAEA conference in Vienna. There is every reason to hope that the meeting of representatives of the states taking part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which opened only yesterday, may substantially move this necessary process on even further.

In a word, there have appeared quite a few tangible signs of realistic opportunities for a reduction in tension along the paths of broad dialogue between East and West. For example, our country attaches fundamental importance to the join proposal of the SED and the FRG's SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] for creation of a corridor free of any kings of nuclear weapons in Europe, on both sides, separating NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

The Soviet Union has not just put forward realistic plans for elimination of mass destruction weapons, for radical reductions in conventional weapons, for elimination of hotbeds of international tension and resolution of many conflicts and disputes in relations between states. The Soviet Union has striven to have virtually all of its initiatives become the subject of talks of dialogue between state figures in a public and political circles. In this sense, the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyvevich Gorbachev and Reagan in Reykjavik was a major event. It would like to stress once again that it was held on the initiative of the Soviet Union. This step proved to be correct and timely. It emphasized the importance of activeness and staunchness in international affairs, the need to persistently search for untraditional approaches to pressing problems, and to reject all the secondary matters that hinder this.

The Reykjavik meeting became a kind of touchstone of the policy of the two major nuclear powers, having shown to the whole world just who stands for what.

The Soviet Union proposed bold and radical plans for a sharp and balanced reduction in nuclear potentials and thereafter for their elimination over a short period. The United States, for its part, showed its inability not just to move half way but to make any movement at all. It pursued one goal: That of preserving the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative, the SDI, that sinister "Star Wars" project, that concentrated expression of militarism -- in other words, the right to develop [sozdaniye] new types of death-dealing weapons capable to becoming the tool of aggression against any state, and the right to blackmail our country and the whole of mankind. Thus the Reykjavik meeting confirmed that the desire of the U.S. leaders for military superiority and for the militarization of space has been turned into the main obstacle on the road towards radical disarmament.

This meeting showed something else as well: Accords leading to nuclear disarmament are possible. The struggle for a nuclear free world has reached a new and higher frontier from which the peace offensive must now be continued in all directions.

To counterbalance SDI the Soviet Union put forward a proposal on international cooperation in the peaceful assimilation of space -- incidentally this opens up great opportunities for employment for people, which is very important in the unemployment conditions of the West, and for developing and applying the latest technology both in space and on earth.

A very great deal indeed today depends on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations when it come to questions of war and peace. That is how history has ordered things. It is primarily from this point of view that our country approaches them considering it to be an urgent requirement to maintain a businesslike dialogue at a high level in order to move toward resolving the most important question of all, namely the elimination of the nuclear threat for even on the basis of the platform put forward by our country in Reykjavik.

But in general we do not aspire to reduce our foreign policy down to Soviet-U.S. relations. We are not doing that. Our course is one of dialogue and cooperation with all countries and in all spheres, and first and foremost in matters concerning the building of an all-embracing system of international security. However such a system can become universal and just if the world community learns to reckon with all the realities of the modern world. The first and most indisputable of these realities is that peace has become the highest value of mankind and furthermore an indispensable condition for mankind's survival on the earth. But that does not mean that other realities have retreated into the background. On the contrary, comrades, recognition of the right to freedom, independence, democracy and, in brief, the right to social progress is a compulsory prerequistie for the world, purified of nuclear weapons, to become truly secure, truly just and democratic.

The CPSU has been and will always remain an inalienable part of the Communist movement of all left-wing and democratic forces. The Soviet Union has been and will always remain on the side of progressive democratic states which oppose war and which favor the building in the international arena of a lasting edifice of political and economic security. Those are the great traditions of October which we will never betray. [applause]

Having imparted mighty acceleration to the process of revolutionary transformation of the world, the October Revolution opened up the prospects for a variety of ways and means for such transformation. In our times this has led to the emergence of many original solutions to similar socio-political tasks.

This is also a reality, which more insistently than before requires that we learn forms of solidarity in keeping with the spirit of the time, dialogue and cooperation between different social forces, trends and movements.

This is just the point of view from which the Soviet Union approaches one of the central tasks of its foreign policy, the strengthening of the socialist community, and development of ties and cooperation with all socialist countries. We have common aims. Our principles are the same, as are our tasks connected with acceleration of socio-economic development. Hence the specific exchange of experience between our parties and harmonization of action in the international arena acquires particular importance. The working meetings between leaders of the fraternal parties have become a most important element in this. Following the 27th congress, this work has gained greater scope and greater intensity.

The atmosphere in relations between socialist countries has become more frank and unconstrained. A search is in progress for new forms of foreign economic cooperation, for deepening specialization and coproduction, and for strengthening of direct ties between enterprises in the socialist countries. The most varied of ties are developed and deepening between citizens and labor collectives, friendship is growing stronger and cooperation between the peoples of the fraternal states is growing broader. All of us gain from this, and most importantly, our common cause, peace and socialism, gains, from it.

There exist complexities, ups and downs, even problems in socialist international relations. This is a fact. However, the mutual desire to work to overcome them has increased tangibly. The improvement in Soviet-Chinese ties points to this convincingly. The CPSU proceeds from the necessity and urgency of further normalization of a healthy development of relations between the two great socialist states, on the principles of equaoity, mutual respect, and good-neighborliness.

The struggle for social progress in the international arena in inconceivable without acute ideological polemics, without rivalry between concepts about the past, present and future of mankind.

This too is a reality, comrades. The Soviet Union is in favor of not allowing the ideological struggle to serve as an obstacle to the development of relations between countries with differing social systems, but of letting this struggle be a constructive element in an honest competition between spiritual values, for the sake of establishing good-neighborliness and cooperation in a varied bu;t closely interrelated world.

But we are opposed to propaganda, which sows discord between men, people, and states. The replacement of the ideological struggle of ideological subversion and crusades contains a serious threat in the nuclear an space-age to the fate of the whole world. However, this is exactly how these who persist in professing a primitive, and, putting it plainly, openly aggressive, and therefore particularly dangerous anticommunism, are behaving in the West. They are endeavoring to stop communism by means of falsehoods of the lowest quality about the countries of socialism. They are trying to implant in millions of peoples an inferiority complex vis-a-vis the rich West, to corrupt their hearts, paralyze their reason and their will to victory, for freedom, for true cultural values, and humane ideals.

Here lies the essence of the hysterical campaigns of all kinds by Western propaganda, under the banner of the so-called defense of human rights and freedoms.

Moreover, note that this defense of rights is intended in our country, in the Soviet Union, and in the other fraternal countries, and not in their own countries, where they really do need defending: Defending against exploitation, against repression by the authorities for political and religious reasons, against state terrorism, spiritual demoralization, racialism, Zionism and anti-semitism, and, above all, against the most inhumane capitalist society, which tramples upon the honor and dignity of man and robs him of any sense of safety and faith in the morrow and in peace.

Our path to the future is not a smooth one. There is no shortage, as they say, of difficulties and problems. But we follow our chosen path, the path of October, with persistence and confidence. Our socio-economic plan and our international course refute better than words could ever do the anticommunist myth of the so-called Soviet military threat, a myth designed to undermine international trust. It is unambiguously refuted by the defensive Soviet military doctrine formulated at the 27th Congress. Its essence could not be simpler, comrades. The Soviet Union does not wish for greater security for itself at the expense of others, but nor will it ever accept less.

This costs us, of course, a great deal in resources and energy. But as long as there is a threat of encroachments on the gains of the October Revolution and a threat to the peace of all, we will be further strengthening our glorious Armed Forces and allocating as much for the defense of the country as is necessary, and the party will rigorously take care of this. [applause] Our Leninist foreign policy expresses the vital interests, goals and humanistic ideals of Soviet society. The weight of our foreign policy, its influence and authority on the international scence depend to a crucial degree on how things are going in our own home and in our country. In this sense its success is the more significant the better we, all the Soviet people, work. Shock work! This is the most reliable guarantee for strengthening the international positions of our socialist motherland, and for consolidating peace on earth.

The atmosphere in the world remains, comrades, alarming as before. The Soviet Union an other socialist countries, and the wide antinuclear movement in which dozens of states and hundreds of millions of people have taken an active part, are fighting for the world atmosphere to be changed, and we believe and we are confident that it will definitely change for the better. [applause]

In a year, comrades, the 70th anniversary of the Great October will be celebrated festively. One can say as early as today and without any exaggeration that it will become a major event in the history of our motherland and in the history of the whole revolutionary movement. There is no doubt that such a significant date will bring the world ideological polemic and political passions up to a new pitch of intensity and will again bring arguments for and against socialism into collision with each other. Not only those things that our country has already achieved will be at the center of attention, but also the methods which it uses for solving problems today.

The year of the Jubilee is going to play its significant role in putting our plans of social and economic acceleration into practice. In 1987 it is intended to bring into play, wider than ever before, the intensive factors of growth, economic methods of management, achievements of science and technology. All the instruments of restructuring, our whole experience, all our will is being concentrated on reliably ensuring the new and at the same time stable rise of the economy and well-being of the people.

The best way to mark the October Revolution anniversary is to give it a powerful forward impulse to the cause for which the glorious sons and daughters of the Soviet people stormed the Winter Palace, laid down their lives in the Civil War and the Great patriotic War and performed combat and labor feats. This means making a major step forward in the implementation of the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. And we shall implement them, comrades. [applause]

The cause of October is the life's cause of our party and all Soviet people. This great cause is invincible. [applause]

May the banner of peace, socialism and democracy rise ever higher over the planet. [applause]

7 NOV ACTIVITIES BEGIN WITH TROOP PARADE

LD070707 Moscow TASS in English 0704 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS -- Troops of the Moscow garrison started a parade in the Soviet capital's Red Square at 1000 Moscow time [0700 GMT] today, to be followed by a demonstration by the city's working people, both traditional events devoted to the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Mikhail Gorbachev and other leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state were on the central stand of Lenin's mausoleum to review the military marchpast and the demonstration.

Lushev Addresses Parade

LD070744 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0711 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Speech by P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister, at 7 November military parade in Moscow's Red Square marking 69th anniversary of Great October Socialist Revolution -- live]

[Text] Comrade servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces, working people of the Soviet Union, esteemed foreign guests: On behalf and on the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government, I welcome and congratulate you on the nationwide holiday, the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

This year the Great October holiday is being celebrated in an atmosphere of great labor and political upsurge on the part of the Soviet people, and of strenuous work by the party to implement the historic decisions of the 27th CPS Congress, which set the strategic course for the acceleration of the social and economic development of our country. In all spheres of public life a process of fundamental restructuring is taking place. Thanks to the heroic labor of the working class, the peasantry, and the Soviet intelligentsia, certain positive changes have been seen. The economic situation has markedly improved. The national economy has been developing dynamically since the beginning of the year. Virtually all industries are exceeding plan targets. Positive changes are taking place in the agro-industrial complex. Soviet science, technology, and culture are in a state of upsurge. The economic and defense might of our great motherland are being steadily strengthened. All this is a guarantee of fresh victories in the implementation of the plans that have been outlined.

The fraternal countries of socialism have also achieved significant successes in their development. Their political unity and their economic cooperation has become even more solid. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are energetically implementing a harmonized line in the name of peace and social progress. The Communist Party and the Soviet state are consistently and persistently implementing the foreign policy course elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress, which is marked by its wide scope, sober realism, boldness of political thinking, and readiness for a search for mutually acceptable solutions in the interests of peace and improvement of the international situation.

A convincing expression of this is the position and the proposals presented by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Reykjavik. It was only the lack of readiness on the part of the U.S. Administration to take reciprocal steps that hindered the start of a real process of ending the nuclear arms race and reducing the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet state's peace-loving policy accords with the interests of the whole of mankind. Evidence of this is in the broad support around the world for the Soviet initiatives at Reykjavik and for our unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. The Soviet Union, firmly defending the mighty gains and interests of socialism, as well as the cause of the freedom and national independence of peoples, is doing all it can to prevent unilateral military advantage for the United States and NATO. Enhancement of the defense might of the socialist motherland and of the combat might of the USSR's Armed Forces, of their vigilance and constant readiness, remains a most important task for us.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government pay untiring attention to strengthening the defense capacity of the country. Thanks to this the Soviet Army and Navy now have at their disposal the most modern weapons and combatant equipment. They have well-educated personnel, and command and political cadres who are trained and selflessly devoted to the cause of the party and the people, capable of staunch, courageous, and skillfull defense of the socialist fatherland.

The men of the USSR's Armed Forces in the united combat formation with the men of the armies of the fraternal socialist countries will continue to reliably guard the peaceful, creative labor of the Soviet people and worthily fulfill their patriotic and international duty.

Long live the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the heroic Soviet people and its valiant Armed Forces!

Glory to Great October, which opened up a new epoch in the history of mankind, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism!

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

GORBACHEV, RYZHKOV SIGN SOCIALIST EMULATION AWARDS

LD060600 Moscow TASS in English 2140 GMT 5 Nov 86

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS -- The 1986 state prizes of the USSR for outstanding labour accomplishments have been awarded to winners of the socialist emulation. It was started in labour collectives of the country early this year in honour of the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. A resolution on awarding the prizes was adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government and was signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov.

The prizes are awarded every year on the eve of the national holiday of this country -- the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This year the prizes were awarded to some 300 workers and farmers of various trades whose labour accomplishments are especially impressive.

DURASOV REPLACES LOMAKO AS METALLURGY MINISTER

LD011125 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 1 Nov 86

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Vladimir Aleksandrovich Durasov as the USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy.

Petr Fadeyevich Lomako has been released from his duties as USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy in connection with his retirement.

LIGACHEV ON HARVEST, PROGRESS ACHIEVED

LD061611 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS -- The cause of the October Revolution, which occurred in 1917, is being carried on. The changes currently taking place in the Soviet country show that we have not lost our role of pioneers on the great road to communism, Yegor Ligachev, a member of the Politbureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today said in his report at a formal meeting in the Kremlin on the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The October revolution had set the stage for a dynamic development of the country, the speaker went on to say. Statistics show that the national wealth of the USSR will soon exceed the pre-revolutionary level 50 times. This is ten times the growth achieved by the USA.

During the same period the real incomes of the people in cities rose 12 times and in the countryside 19 times. Guaranteed jobs, free health care and education, the right to security in old age, housing and participation in the management of the affairs of the state and society have become the norm of life in the country. Altogether 240 million people live in housing built in the past 30 years. (The Soviet population today is 280 million.)

The process of change that has begun in the country is revolutionary. Of course, Yegor Ligachev stressed, we do not speak about changing the nature of our social system.

Conversely, this process is aimed at fortifying and developing the basic foundations of socialist principles and at creating conditions for the efficient use of the vast potential of socialism so that it could serve man to an even larger extent. It is an indubitable fact that the CPSU, which came out as an initiator of that change, has immensly added to its political prestige.

The first steps of change in the economy have increased the dynamics of national economic growth. The results of the first 10 months of this year indicate that the highest growth rates of national income and industrial production have been achieved during the 1980s.

The growth rates of agricultural production are double the targets for the five-year period. Gross grain production this year will be roughly 210 million tons, which is a 30-million-ton increase on the average annual grain production during 1981-1985.

Touching upon international problems the speaker said that the socio-economic develoment plans and international course are refuting better than any words the anti-communist myth about a "Soviet military threat", the myth intended to subvert international trust.

He recalled the conclusion of the 27th CPSU Congress that today struggle between capitalism and socialism could proceed exclusively in forms of peaceful competition and rivalry. It is clear today that this is the only true course. Although the threat of nuclear war remains real, the CPSU believes that the battle for peace can and must be won.

The meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Reykjavik became a touchstone of a sort for the policies of the two major nuclear powers and showed to the world as a whole who is who. The Soviet Union came up with bold and drastic plans for sweeping balanced reductions in the nuclear potentials and their subsequent and early elimination. The United States showed its inability not merely to go its half-way but even to budge. But that meeting also demonstrated that agreements leading towards nuclear disarmament are possible, Yegor Ligachev stressed.

DEPUTY JUSTICE MINISTER ON FAMILY REUNIFICATIONS

AU031300 Vienna WEINER ZEITUNG in German 1 Nov 86 p 3

[Report on interview given by USSR Deputy Minister of Justice Ivan Samoshchenko to NOVOSTI -- date and place not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow -- [passage omitted] The Soviet authorities intend to deal with applications for family reunifications more quickly in the future than up to now and also plan to give reasons for rejecting applications. According to Soviet Deputy Minister of Justice Ivan Samoshchenko, these changes are part of an "amendment" to the regulations on entering and leaving the country, an amendment that will come into force as of 1 January 1987. The USSR, he said, wants to develop its legislation by "taking into consideration" the Bern CSCE expert meeting on human contacts, although the United States prevented a final document there.

Now the Soviet Union has fixed "a period of 1 month" for processing the applications for family reunifications, if "there is no need for additional checks," said Samoshchenko in an interview with the Soviet press agency NOVOSTI, which was made available to the Austrian Press Agency APA. "In the other cases" the processing of the applications must be "6 months at the most," as was laid down at the Madrid CSCE follow-up conference.

In accordance with the Bern talks, the authorities will accept "important family events" as a basis for an application. The amendment lists these events, the deputy minister said, but "other weighty reasons" may also be accepted. [passage omitted]

Expert Discusses Change

AU051704 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 5 Nov 86 p 6

[Report on an interview given by Anatoliy P. Movchan, USSR international law expert and member of the CSCE delegation, to NEUE AZ on 4 November in Vienna]

[Text] Vienna -- As of 1 January 1987 a new law will come into force in the Soviet Union that will no longer turn people who want to emigrate over to bureaucratic delays and obstacles. This was announced by Professor Anatoliy P. Movchan, Soviet international law expert and member of the CSCE delegation, in a talk with NEUE AZ on Tuesday.

The new law, which is worked out in the wake of the legal reform announced by Gorbachev for many areas, provides that in future, applications and complaints of people who want to emigrate must normally be processed within 1 month. The maximum for "particularly difficult cases" will be 6 months, said Movchan. Applications made for (temporary) medical treatment abroad must be processed within 3 days.

Basically Unchanged [subhead]

With these announcements, Movchan suggested that in the Soviet Union a new tendency seems to arise with regard to civil rights too. However, it can be inferred from his statements that the basic attitude concerning the question of human rights will not change.

Movchan, who had already been qualified in this special field in 1956, accuses the West of having caused a split in the interpretation of human rights as proclaimed by the United Nations in 1945. On the one hand, there are the political and civil rights; on the other, those human rights which "pose difficulties to the capitalist system:" the right to work, to health care, and to ecucation.

Concerning the right to free choice of the place where one wants to stay, no matter in which country, there are -- in the Soviet opinion -- more violations in the West than in the East, where there are only individual cases because of national security, such as Sakharov. Great Britain, for instance, does not even permit immigration of its own citizens from the former colonies, obviously for reasons of racist selection, said Movchan.

Movchan admitted that there have been bureaucratic obstacles for Jews who want to emigrate; nevertheless, over the past decade tens of thousands have left the country. There are more difficulties with people who want to come back: Soviet society considers them as "traitors" of their country. "If one wants to change something in the country, one has to stay there," the professor concluded.

SUPREME SOVIET CONSIDERS MINSK ACHIEVEMENTS

LD011851 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Nov 86

[Text] As already reported, at its meeting the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considered the work of the People's Deputies of the city of Minsk in increasing production and raising the quality of consumer goods in the light of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress.

In the decree adopted on the above-mentioned question, it is noted that the soviets of People's Deputies of the city, under the leadership of the party bodies, are consistently solving the task set by the congress: Flood the market with various goods and services.

However, in evaluating the state and level of work of the soviets of the City of Minsk, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium stresses that the changes that are taking place here still do not bear the character of a qualitative breakthrough. The level of goods production which has been attained, and especially their consumer characteristics and range do not correspond to people's rising demands.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has proposed to the soviets of People's Deputies of Minsk to continue to improve the work to increase production and to raise the quality of consumer goods, and to remove the shortcomings mentioned in the present decree.

Backed by accumulated experience, initiative, independence of the deputies, and broad aktiv, the level of organizational and politcial-educational work on ensuring the fulfillment of state plans and pledges which have been accepted is to be raised.

SILAYEV OPENS TOLYATTI MACHINE BUILDING MEETING

PM301045 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Oct 86 p 2

["Own information" report: "Machine Builders' Conference"]

[Excerpts] Tolyatti -- Yesterday in Tolyatti saw the start of a machine builders' conference devoted to preparations by associations and enterprises in the machine building complex for the transition to complete financial autonomy. I. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building, opened the conference. [passage omitted]

V. Lukyanenko, minister of chemical and petroleum machine building, M. Shkabardnya, minister of instrument making, automation equipment, and control systems, and V. Omelyanchik, first deputy minister of the automotive industry, described progress in preparing sectors for the enterprises' transition to complete financial autonomy.

Taking part in the work of the conference are Ye. Muravyev, first secretary of the Kuybyshev party obkom, Ye. Chernyshov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Machine Building Section, and leaders of a number of ministries and departments.

The conference continues today.

RSFSR PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES ANTIDRINK EFFORT

PM061605 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Oct 86 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "People's Health -- the Main Concern"]

[Text] The strategy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and our socialist idels compel us to wage an uncompromising struggle to establish a sober, health way of life. On 29 October a scheduled session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the question of work done by local soviets and other state organs in Belgorod Oblast's Shebekinskiy Rayon to implement legislation aimed at overcoming drunkenness.

It was noted that local soviet, economic, and law enforcement organs have increased their educational and preventive work among the population and are more frequently applying measures to bring social and adminstrative pressure to bear on persons who indulge in alcohol abuse and the illegal distillation of spirits. Discipline and law and order have become stronger and there has been a noticeable drop in the number of violations of the law committed because of drunkenness.

At the same time, local soviets and other state organs in the rayon are failing to ensure the implementation of all anti-alcohol legislative requirements. In a number of places the struggle against drunkenness has not become totally comprehensive. The ispolkoms of some rural soviets inadequately focus the efforts of their standing commissions and deputies on implementing measures connected with the struggle against drunkenness and are failing to back up with practical action the decisions taken by working people's meetings and civic assemblies regarding the formation of sobriety zones. A climate of intolerance of persons indulging in drunkenness and the illegal distillation of spirits has not been created everywhere. Serious shortcomings are tolerated in the organization of working people's leisure -- particularly young people's.

A resolution approved by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium instructs local soviets in Shebekinskiy Rayon and Belgorod Oblast and their ispolkoms to eliminate existing shortcomings and take additional measures to ensure the implementation of antialcohol legislation. The supreme soviet presidiums and councils of ministers of autonomous republics and the ispolkoms of kray, oblast, and Moscow and Leningrad city soviets are instructed to increase their monitoring of the activities of lower ranking soviet ispolkoms in the implementation of legislation aimed at overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism.

The Presidium heard reports by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Conservation and Utilization of Natural Resources Commission and the Legislative Proposals Commission on the results of their discussion of the question of work done by soviet and economic organs in Ryazan oblast to ensure the observance of conservation legislation.

The Presidium session also discussed some other issues relating to the republic's state life.

COLONEL GENERAL POSTNIKOV PROMOTED ARMY GENERAL

PM061147 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 86 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on Promoting Colonel General S.I. Postnikov to the Rank of Army General"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees that the military rank of Army General be bestowed on Colonel General Stanislav Ivanovich Postnikov [last identified as Transbaykal MD commander].

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Moscow, Kremlin, 3 November 1986.

KULIKOV ADDRESSES PACT THEORETICAL CONFERENCE

PM041227 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Nov 86 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Theoretical Conference"]

[Text] A theoretical conference on the subject "The 27th CPSU Congress and the Congresses of Fraternal Communist and Workers Parties on the Problems of War and Peace Under Contemporary Conditions and the Enhancement of the Warsaw Pact Organization's Role in World Politics" was held at the headquarters of the Warsaw Pact States' Joint Armed Forces.

The theoretical conference was opened by Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact States' Joint Armed Forces.

Army General A.I. Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, delivered a report "The Problem of War and Peace -- The Most Urgent Problem of Our Time."

The conference was addressed by Lieutenenat General S. Mitev (Bulgarian People's Army), Major General A. Palasti (Hungarian People's Army), Lt Gen M. Bartel (GDR National People's Army), Colonel H. Milewicz (Polish Armed Forces), Maj Gen D. Penescu (Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania), Lt Gen Yu. Khvorostyanov (USSR Armed Forces), and Lt Gen B. Kucera (Czechoslovak People's Army).

FIRST DEPUTY MINISTER LUSHEV PRESENTS MAJOR AWARD

PM061219 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 86 Second Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel M. Zemskov report: "The Motherland's High Award"]

[Text] Yesterday Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister, presented the motherland's highest award -- the Order of Lenin -- to the prominent Soviet military leader, twice Hero of the Soviet Union and Hero of the CSSR, Army General D.D Lelyushenko. This high award has been bestowed on him for his great contribution to strengthening the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces, his courage and heroism displayed during the Great Patriotic War years, and in connection with his 85th birthday.